A HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT

WITH A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE GROWTH OF URDU LANGUAGE

[BĀBUR TO AKBAR]

PART II.—HUMĀYŪN

BY

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چوں ھمایوں بیہشی اُفتادہ است

حقا که چون همایون درحال وصل بیخود

با دوست در حکایت از خویش رفته بودم

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[*From an album of highly finished portraits of the Mughal emperors of Hindūstān.*]

A

HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT

PART II—HUMĀYŪN

CHAPTER I

Humāyūn's accession to the throne.

Congratulatory poems.

After Bābur's death, which took place at Āgra, his eldest son Humāyūn ascended the throne in 937 A. H. The court poets composed congratulatory poems of which the following chronogram was cleverly devised mourning in one and the same breath for Bābur's death and exulting at Humāyūn's accession to the throne :

شه خسرواں شاہ بابر کہ داشت[1]
در صد بندہ مانند جمشید و کے
محمد همایوں بجایش نشست
چو طومار عمرش اجل کردہ طے
چو پرسند تاریخ اے دل بگو
همایوں بود وارث ملک وے

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[1] Mirza 'Alaud daula Qazwini, Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir (abridged), B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 27a.

The king of kings Shāh Bābur who had,
Two hundred slaves like Jamshīd and "Kai-khusrau";
Muhammad Humāyūn sat in his place,
When the roll of the latter's life was cut short by death;
If they ask the date, O heart, say,
"Humāyūn is the heir to his kingdom."

The practice of composing chronograms on memorable occasions was rapidly gaining popularity among the writers of the Indian courts. Even poets who had migrated from Persia, Turkistān, and Trans-Caspian Provinces, were taking a fancy for same and introducing subtleties in their compositions with artful devices in the use of words and their meanings.

Popularity of chronograms : a noteworthy feature of his reign in the history of Persian poetry in India.

Another chronogram that was composed and presented to him was the following :

[1] محمد همایون شه نیک بخت
که خیرالملوک است اندر سلوک
چو برمسند پادشاهی نشست
شدش سال تاریخ خیرالملوک

Muhammad Humāyūn, the fortunate King,
Who is the best of kings in their line;
When on the throne of Empire he sat,

[1] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 344.

The year of his accession was "*Khair-ul-mulūk*" (the best of kings).

Again, when Humāyūn defeated Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī in a pitched battle at Mandsūr near Mālwa, the following *qit'a* was composed to commemorate the date of this victory :

[1] همایون شاه غازي آنکه اوراست
هزاران بنده چون جمشید در خور
بفیروزي چو آمد سوئے گجرات
مظفر گشت فخر آل تیمور
بهادر چون ذلیل و خوار گردید (تیمر ۱۲)
شده تاریخ آں ذلّ بهادر

Humāyūn is king, Ghāzī, and more,
Thousands of slaves like Jamshīd him serve;
In victory, when he came to Gujarāt,
Triumphed the 'pride of Timūr's race,'
Bahādur, when fell so low and in disgrace,
The date was found in '*zill i Bahādur*'
(Bahādur's disgrace).

Similarly when the fort of Champānēr was subdued by Humāyūn's forces, the following verse was composed by the court poets in attendance :

[2] تاریخ ظفر یافتن شاه همایوں
می جست خرد–یافت نه شهر صفر بود

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[1] Ibid., p. 346.
[2] Ibid., p. 347.

The date of Humāyūn's gaining victory,
Wisdom sought and found in '*nuh i Shahr i Safar būd*' (it was the 9th of Safar).

This chronogram is most ingeniously devised since its very words tell the date and the month, while the year is to be found in the numerical value of its letters. Such niceties in the art of composition date from the reign of Humāyūn, and were developed in the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān, and Aurangzēb.

His birth and education.

He was born at Cābul of Bābur's first wife, Māham Bēgum, in 913 A. H., which is synchronous with Bābur's adoption of the title of Pādishāh. The date of his birth was found by many poets in their metrical compositions, of which the following is from the pen of Bābur's trusted noble Khwāja Kalān:

[1] سال مولود همایون شاهست
زادك الله نعالی قدرا
برده ام یك الف ازداریخش
نا کشم مبل دو چشم بدرا

It is the year of the birth of Humāyūn Shāh,
May God increase thy rank and dignity;
I have carried off one '*alif*' from his chronogram,[2]
So that I may apply with it collyrium to the two eyes of the evil.

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[1] Naqsh 'Alī, Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'ānī (abridged and bound with Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir), B M MSS, Or 1761, fol. 151b.

[2] This means that the chronogram is short by 1.

Short phrases also, as was customary with poets on such occasions, were ingeniously constructed giving the date of his birth, to indicate his future greatness and kingly career. Some of these are as follows :

سلطان همایون خان ... [Sultān Humāyūn Khān]
شاه فیروز قدر ... [Shāh Fīrūz Qadr]
پادشاه صف شکن ... [Pādishāh Saf-Shikan]
خوش باد ... [Khush Bād]

In his early youth he was trained under the fostering care of his father's learned secretaries Khwāja Kalān and Shaikh Zainuddīn. His father also paid personal attention to his education and used to correct in his letters mistakes of spelling and diction every now and then.[1]

Waning influence of Turkī at his Court, and his liking for Persian in contrast to his father's.

While quite young he developed a taste for Mathematics and Astronomy in the association of Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī[2], Mullā Nūruddīn,[3] and the celebrated astronomer Maulānā Ilyās.[4] He seemed to have little liking for Turkī, and employed it on few occasions only. The rapidly dwindling influence of Turkī at his court is clearly noticeable. While Bābur had tried all his life to raise the status of Turkī, Humāyūn, in inverse ratio, neglected it from deference to the feelings of the Persians at his court, as well as his own liking for Persian.

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1 Memoirs of Bābur, Vol II, p 624.

2 Bā Yazīd, Tārīkhi Humāyūn, I O MSS No 223, fol. 24b.

3 Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p 223.

4 Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 131.

The only instances of his Turkī composition that could be discovered are the following:

(i) A few letters that he wrote to his father.

(ii) Occasional verses that he composed, of which, however, no trace could be found, except of one which is preserved in his name as follows :

[1] من كه بلبل ايك كلى دين كو بمشام اعنگ يله
اوت ساليب تور هاتمه رحساره كلرنك بله

The occasions on which he appreciated Turkī verses were also few :

"After my presentation I offered the Emperor a small gift and a chronogram upon the conquest of India – also two *ghazals*, all of which pleased the Pādishāh greatly."[2]

"About the same time Āgra fell into the hands of the Pādishāh. I immediately wrote a chronogram for the occasion which found much favour. The incident furnished the material for a '*ghazal*' with which the sovereign was so delighted that he called me a second Mīr 'Alī Shīr."[3]

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[1] Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B M. MSS, Or. 1761, fol. 40a.

[2] A Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs, p. 47, London, 1899.

[3] Ibid., pp. 49–50.

Turkī rarely employed in his private conversation

Even in his private conversations he used Turkī rarely. On two occasions he spoke it merely with the object that his other courtiers might not understand him. One such occasion was at the blinding of Kāmrān. When 'Alī Dost, a trusted servant of Humāyūn, came to give him certain news about it with a view to take his further instructions in the matter, Humāyūn was surrounded by people, and this was apparently why the servant chose to communicate the object of his visit in Turkī, saying:

[1] بوایشیکا هیچ کسی قلیلدور

Nobody does this work,

whereupon Humāyūn abusing him said:

[2] ایتی قلتاق سن غانه بولب دورسن قلنك

What is wrong with thee, do it thyself.

The other occasion was when on account of the scarcity of water and the monopoly of the available well by Tardī Bēg, the entire menial staff had conspired against him and made their complaint to Humāyūn. Humāyūn thereupon rode up to Tardī Bēg and spoke to him in Turkī merely to avoid his being understood

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[1] Jauhar, Tazkirat ul Wāqi'āt, B. M. MSS., Add. 16,711 fol. 123b.

[2] Ibid.

by others, thereby to keep the prestige of the Khān in the eyes of those present intact :

[1] چون آب بفراغت نمي رسيد جماعة شاگرد پيشه حضرت پادشاه آمده عرض نمودند که تردی بيگ باسپان وشتران خود آب داد......پادشاه او را مانع شوند إلّا باد جنگ خواهيم کرد غايت کشة خواهيم شد يا آب ميگيريم چون حضرت دانستند که قباحت خواهدشد سوارشدند بدولت و برسر چاه آمدند و بزبان ترکي گفتند غلامان خيال خوب ندارند مردم خود را يك ساعت ازآب گرفتن مانع شو-

> Since water was not being had in sufficient quantity the menial staff of His Majesty coming before him gave vent that Tardī Bēg supplied water to his own horses and camels . . , the King should stop him, otherwise we would fight with him At the most we might be killed or get water. When His Majesty knew that it would lead to evil, he mounted his horse and rode up to the top of the well, and said in Turkī language, "the servants are discontented. Stop your men drawing water for an hour."

A similar instance occurred when a servant wished to say that a certain Mughal captive had used unworthy language in respect of Humāyūn's person, and should on that account be beheaded :

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[1] Ibid., fol. 51b.

یك مغل بدست میرزا قلی چولی افتاد که بر روے او زخم محکم بود گرفته بدر گاه حضرت پادشاه اورده بزبان ترکی عرض کرد که این شخص آنکس است که بحضرت پادشاه ناسزا گفته بود فرمودند که بجزای خود رسیده است -[1]

A Mughal on whose face there was a deep wound fell into the hands of Mīrzā Qulī Chūlī. Having arrested him he brought him to the court of His Majesty and said in Turkī language that the captive was that person who used unworthy language in respect of the Pādishāh. His Majesty replied that the wretch had received his reward.

One instance of his voluntarily employing Turkī while speaking to a Turk is as follows:

دو شخص رومی در بازار بودند که بحضرت پادشاه سلام کردند حضرت فرمودند که من دن دعاده یعنی ازما بپادشاه روم دعا بده ایشان گفتند که کوز اوچم یعنی بچشم -[2]

Two persons of Rūm were in the market. They saluted His Majesty. His Majesty replied, '*min dan du'ā dih,*' *i.e.*, from me to the king of Rūm convey greetings. They rejoined, '*kūz ou cham*,' *i.e.*, heartily or with great pleasure.

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[1] Ibid., fol. 56a.

[2] Ibid., fol. 82a.

CHAPTER II

While for Turkī he seems to have had an aversion, for Persian he had a special liking. He encouraged it at his court and himself employed it on all public and private occasions. He also compiled a 'dīwān'[1] using *Humāyūn* as his pen-name. His best poetry is to be found in his '*ghazal*.'

His taste for Persian poetry.

'Ghazal'

Some specimens are as follows:

غزل

[2]کار من بامهوشے افتاده است

در درونم آتشے افتاده است

خانه ام روشن شد از روی حبیب

هر توے ازمهوشے افتاده است

دل مرا ای جان بهر سومی کشد

تا دلم با دلکشے افتاده است

کام دل خواهم گرفتن این زمان

چون بدستم سر خوشے افتاده است

عقل و هوش از من مجوئید ای بتان

چون همایون بیهشے افتاده است

---

[1] Abul Fazl testifies to its presence in the royal library: Cf. ودیوان آنحضرت در کتبخانه عالي موجود است (and His Majesty's *dīwān* exists in the royal library) [Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p 368.]

[2] Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 39a.

With a beautiful maid my lot has fallen,
Within my heart a fire has fallen ;
My house is lit with the face of the loved,
From the beauteous moon (beloved) a ray has fallen,
In ev'ry way my heart, O life, draws me,
Since my heart to a ravisher of heart has fallen ;
The object of my heart I'll seize now,
While to my hand dizzy delight has fallen ;
Sense and wit in me seek not beloved,
While Humāyūn in ecstasy has fallen.

[1] گذشت از دل سر گشته ناوك ستمش
رسید برمن دل خسته لذت المش
بقصد کشتن عشاق اگر کند میلے
عجب نباشد از اخلاص و شیوۂ کرمش
کرا است زهرۂ قرب حریم عزت او
که جبرئیل امین نیست محرم حرمش
مرا بمحنت او خوشدلي بسے باشد
ز شادي دو جهان بهتر است درد و غمش
اگر بپرسش عشاق مي دهد قدمے
هزار جان گرامي فداے هر قدمش

The arrow of his tyranny pierced my bewildered heart,
My wounded heart has tasted the sweetness of the pang of his love ;

[1] Ibid.

If for the killing of lovers he shows an
inclination,
It is not strange from the demands of his
generosity and sincere feeling ;
Who has the courage[1] to go near the shrine
of his glory ?
When Gabriel—the trusted—is not the
confidant thereunto ;
In his love the joy of my heart grows too
great,
Pain and grief for him are better than the
joys of earth and heaven ;
If to inquire after lovers he may put a step,
A thousand dignified souls be sacrificed at
every step of his.

[2]وصف لعل تو برزبان منست
آتشے درمیان جان منست
هر که باشد بمجلس رندان
بیخود از نعره و فغان منست
انچه در وصف حسن او گویند
حمله در شرم و در بیان منست

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[1] Literally, 'gall-bladder.'

[2] Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, fol. 39b.

Cf. another similar ode with but slight difference in 'qāfiya':

داغ عشق تو بر جبیں منست خاتم لعل تو نگین منست
تا نشستم چو خاک بردر تو بشت بام فلک زمین منست
هرکجا شاهٔ و شهر یارے بود ایں زماں بندهٔ کمین منست
خط مشکیں بصفحهٔ گلفام آیت رحمت مبین منست

[Farishta, Vol. I, p. 460.]

The praise of thy ruby is on my tongue,
A fire is within my soul;
Whoever might happen to be in the assembly
of the abandonnes,
Is beside himself by my cry and lament;
Whatever they say in the praise of his
beauty,
All is contained in my expression and
comment.

[1] خوش آنکه با خیالت عمري نشسته بودم
وز شوق سرو قدت از پاے خسته بودم
عیبم مکن که گفتم زلف ترا پریشان
در شرح جعد زلفت چون دل شکسته بودم
وی سوی من که دیدی پرسیدهٔ چه حالست
از چشم تا بناکت بسیار خسته بودم
در شرم غنچهٔ او هرگز نگفت حرفے
لب را دران حکایت پیوسته بسته بودم
حقا که چون همایون در حال وصل بیخود
با دوست در حکایت از خویش رفته بودم

Happy the recollection when the greater
part of my life I had sat in thy thought,
And in search of thy cypress-like stature
my feet were sore;

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[1] Ibid.

Do not find fault with me that I called thy lock ' disorderly,'
Since in commenting on thy curly lock I was broken-hearted;
Last night when thou looked at me and inquired after my condition,
I felt much crushed and dazed by thy beaming eyes;
In explanation of his bud, my lip did never utter a word,
I had kept it always shut in that tale;
By God out of wits like Humāyūn in union with the beloved,
In relating my tale to my friend I had gone beside myself.

'Ruba'i.' [1]ای دل مکن اضطراب در پیش رقیب

حال دل خود مگوے با هیچ طبیب

کار یکه ترا بهٔ آن جفا کار افتاد

بس قصهٔ مشکلست و بس امر عجیب

O heart, show no restlessness before the rival,
Divulge not to any physician the condition of thy heart;
Thy work that has fallen with that practiser of tyranny,
Is a hard tale and a curious affair.

---

1 Ibid., fol. 4a.

[1]هستيم ز جان بندهٔ اولاد علي
هستيم هميشه شادبا ياد علي
چون سر ولايت از علي ظاهر شد
كرديم هميشه ورد خود ياد علي

We are from our hearts slaves to the
sons of 'Alī,
We are ever happy in the memory of 'Alī ;
Since the mystic's secret is revealed
through 'Alī,
We always recalled the memory of 'Alī.

[2]يارب بكمال لطف خاصم گرداں
واقف بحقايق خواصم گرداں
از عقل جفا كار دل افگار شدم
ديوانهٔ خود خوان و خلاصم گرداں

O God with Thy plentiful grace select me
for Thy nearness,
Make me acquainted with the secrets of Thy
chosen people ;

---

[1] Farishta, Vol. I, p. 446
NOTE.—The word 'ياد' in the last hemistich seems to be a misprint for 'ناد' which is more appropriate and is in accordance with the rules of prosody as saving a needless repetition of the word 'ياد', which occurs twice in the quatrain But as the first reading is found in some other works also besides Farishta, the same is retained here in the text.

[2] Akbar Nāma, Vol. 1, p. 435 (Newal Kishore edition, 1284 A. H.).

Through my tyrannic wisdom my heart was rent,
Call me Thy mad lover, and free me from all cares.

[1] ای دل ز حضور یار فیروزی کن
در خدمت او بصدق دلسوزی کن
هر شب بخیال دوست خرم بنشین
هر روز بوصل یار نوروزی کن

O heart, reap success from the presence of the beloved,
Burn your heart in all sincerity in his service :
Every night sit jubilant in the thought of thy friend,
Every day celebrate a new year's day in union with him.

[2] اے آنکه جفای تو بعالم علم است
روز یکه ستم نه بینم از تو ستم است
هر غم که رسد از ستم چرخ بدل
مارا چو غم عشق تو باشد چه غم است

O thou whose tyranny is well-known all the world over,
The day on which I do not experience severity from thee is severe ;
Whatever grief reaches the heart from the oppression of the sky,

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[1] Farishta, Vol. I, p. 446

[2] Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 368

I care not for, so long as I have the grief
of thy love in me.

ای آنکه ز یاد تو دلم باشد شاد[1]
بی یاد تو خاطرم دمی شاد مباد
روزیکه ز یاد تو کنم صد فریاد
آیا ز من غمزده‌ات آید یاد

O thou from whose memory my heart
gains joy,
Without thy memory my soul no joy can know;
The day that in thy memory a hundred
cries I raise,
Come to thee of me, the grief-stricken,
remembrance ?

Once in his appeal to Kāmrān for peace, he subscribed the following verses purporting that for every drop of blood spilt, Kāmrān would be answerable before God on the day of judgment:

بود خون آن قوم در گردنت[2]
بود دست آن جمع در دامنت
همان به که بر صلح رای آوری
طریق مروت بجای آوری

---

[1] Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B M. MSS, Or 1761, fol 40a

[2] Akbar Nāma, Vol I, p. 278

Cf Kāmrān's blunt reply to Humāyūn's generous appeal:

عروس ملک کسی در کنار گیرد تنگ که بوسه بر لب شمشیر آبدار دهد

He alone holds fast the bride of kingdom,
Who kisses the lip of the sharp sword.

[Farishta, Vol I, p 351]

The blood of that people hangs on thy neck,
The hand of that band is on thy skirt ;
Better is that thou decidest on peace,
And showeth the manner of kindliness and generosity.

An instance of his composing *masnawī* is to be found in one of his letters which he addressed to Bairām Khān on the occasion of the conquest of Qandhār :

'Masnawī.'

باز فتحی ز غیب روی نمود[1]   که دل دوستان ازو بگشود
شکر لله که باز شادانیم   بر رخ یار و دوست خندانیم
دشمنان را بکام دل دیدیم   میوهٔ باغ فتح را چیدیم
روز نوروز بیرم است امروز   دل احباب بی غم است امروز
شاد بادا همیشه خاطر یار   غم نگردد بگرد دار و دیار
همه اسباب عیش آماده است   دل بفکر وصالت افتاده است
که جمال حبیب کی بینم   گل ز باغ وصال کی چینم
گوش خرم شود ز گفتارت   دیده روشن شود ز دیدارت
در حریم حضور شاد بهم   بنشینم خرم و بی غم
بعد ازان فکر کار هند کنم   عزم تسخیر ملک سند کنیم
هر در بستهٔ کشاده شود   هرچه خواهم ازان زیاده شود
انچه خواهیم از زمان و زمین   گوید آمین جبرئیل امین
یا الهی میسرم گردان   دو جهان را مسخرم گردان

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[1] Ibid.

Again a victory showed its face from
Invisibility,
That the hearts of friends cheered to see it;
Thanks be to God that we are again happy,
And we smile on the faces of companions and
friends;
We saw our enemies with the object of their
heart achieved,
We plucked the fruit of the garden of victory;
To-day is the Bairām's New Year's day;
The heart of friends is without a grief to-day;
The heart of the dear one be ever happy,
Grief may not go near to his heart, nor to
his native town;
All the requisite material for comfort is ready,
My heart is anxious for union with thee;
When would it be that I see the beauty of
the loved one,
When would I pluck the flower of the garden
of union with him;
When should my ear become happy in
listening to thy speech,
And my eye lighted through seeing thy face;
In the sanctuary of thy presence happy
together,
We sit cheerful and without a grief;
After this we turn our care to the affairs of
India,
Resolved to subdue the kingdom of Sindh;
Every door that is shut will be opened,
Whate'er we wished, more than that shall
we gain;

And to what we desire from ' time ' and ' earth,'
The trusty (amīn) Gabriel will say ' amen ' ;
O God, make it our lot,
Both the worlds be subdued to us.

He had also subscribed as a post-script the following quatrain of his ready composition on the margin :

اے آنکہ انیس خاطر محزونی[1]
چون طبع لطیف خویشتن موزونی
بے یاد تو نیستم زمانے ہرگز
آیا تو بیاد من محزون چونی

O thou, who art the consoler of the grieved heart,
Like thine own pure disposition thou art well-balanced ;
Without thy recollection I am not for a moment,
How art thee in the recollection of a grieved one like me ?

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[1] Ibid Cf Bairām Khān's reply .

اے آنکہ بذات سایۂ بیچونی از هرچه ترا وصف کنم افزونی
چون میدانی کہ بیتو چون میگزرد چون میپرسی کہ در فراقم چونی

O thou, who art in person the shadow of the Incomparable,
Thou art more than whatever I praise thee with ;
Since thou knowest how I pass my time without thee,
Why dost thou ask how I fare in thy separation ?

One day the emperor planned a little excursion on horse-back to visit the graves of the holy Sheikhs of Lahore, and I accompanied him. We visited the graves of Shāh Qutbeddīn the Pīr of Delhi, of Sheikh Nizām Welī, Sheikh Ferīd Shekr-Ghendj, Mīr Khosru Dehlevī and Mīr Husein Dehlevī. When the conversation turned upon the poetical works of Mīr Khosru, I quoted some of his best poems, and under their influence I conceived a most telling distich. I turned to the emperor saying, 'It would be presumption on my part to measure my powers against those of Mīr Khosru, but he has inspired me, and I would fain recite my couplet before your Majesty.' 'Let us hear it,' said Humāyūn, and I recited the following:

His appreciation of Persian poets

[1]هرکه قانع شد دبك دان پاره مرد مهترست
کار او از جملهٔ شاهان عالم بهترست

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[1] Sīdī 'Alī Re'īs-Mir'āt ul Mamālik, p. 35, Iqdām Press, Stambūl, 1313 A. H.
Cf. Khusrau's original verses:

کوس شه خالي و بانگ غلغلش درد سر است
هر که قانع شد بخشک و تر شه بحر و بر است
مرد پنهان در گلیمے پادشاه عالم است
تیغ خفته در نیامے پاسبان کشور است

Truly great is he who became contented with his daily bread,
Better is his affair than all the kings of the earth.

'By God,' cried the monarch, ' this is truly sublime.''[1]

On one occasion Humāyūn quoted Nizāmī in a letter to Prince Akbar, reprimanding him for his playing truant:

[2] غافل منشین نہ وقت بازیست
وقت ہنر است و کار سازیست

Don't sit idly, 'Tis not the time for play,
'Tis time for acquiring skill and doing work.

He had also inscribed in his own handwriting the following verse of Shaikh Āzarī on a niche of the arch of his palace:

[3] شنیدہ ام کہ دریں طارم زر اندود است
خطے کہ عاقبت کار جملہ محمود است

I have heard that on this golden vault there is,
An inscription which is the end of the work of all Mahmūds.

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[1] A. Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sīdī 'Alī Re'is, p. 54.

[2] Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 316.

[3] Ibid., p. 363.

HUMĀYUN WITH HIS PET HAWK, AND THE YOUNG PRINCE AKBAR.

[*Exhibit 1911 Exhibition, Allahabad.*]

From his own verses which include almost all principal kinds of poetry except *'qasīda'* and, *qit'a*,[1] his position as a poet of the Persian language is clearly established. In his *'rubā'ī'* and *'ghazal'* while behind no one, he stands ahead of many of his contemporaries. The chief feature of his style is the clearness of expression which pervades all his writings, and his words are always few, simple, and compact.

Estimate of his poetic taste (finer) than that of an average poet

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[1] One instance of same as found in some Persian works like the Ātashkada, p. 39 (edited by Bland, London, 1844), and the Majma'ul, Fusahā, p. 62, is as follows. This he is said to have written to Shāh Tahmāsp after his arrival in Persia:

خسروا عمریست تا عنقاے عالی همتم
قاف قناعت را نشیمن کردہ است
رمز گلوی سفله گندم نماے جو فروش
طوطی طبع مرا قانع به ارزن کردہ است
همعنم هیر است و عمری پشت برمن کردہ بود
حالیا از روے خصمی روے برمن کردہ است
دارم اکنون التماس از شه که تا با من کند
انچه با سلمان علی در دشت ارژن کردہ است

It may be noted that the last line with but slight variation occurs in Salmān Sāwajī's *'qit'a'* as follows:

از خدا أمید دارم شاه با ما آن کند
انچه با سلمان علي در دشت ارژن کردہ است

Also, he is said to have sent to the Shāh a *'rubā'ī'* of which only one line could be traced as under:

شاهان همه سایهٔ هما می خواهند بنگر که هما آمدہ در سایهٔ تو

To this the Shāh's reply was the following:

هماے اوج سعادت بدام ما افتد اگر ترا گذرے در مقام ما افتد

His poetic insight: corrects Hairatī and Jāhī.[1]

Once during his flight to Persia, Mullā Hairatī, a poet of Trans-Caspian Province, presented him with a '*ghazal*' of which the opening lines ran thus :

گه دل از عشق بتان گه جگرم میسوزد[2]
عشق هر لحظه بداغ دگرم میسوزد
همچو پروانه به شمعے سروکار است مرا
که اگر پیش روم بال و پرم میسوزد

Sometimes the heart burns with the love of
the beautiful, sometimes the liver,
Love every second burns me with a fresh scar ;
Like the moth I have my affair with a candle
lamp,
That if I go further, my wing and feather
burn.

Humāyūn improving on the last hemistich put it as follows :

میروم پیش اگر بال و پرم میسوزد

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[1] Both were notable poets of Persian language and received favours from Humāyūn The latter having entered into his service at Cābul accompanied him to India, and remained here till his death which occurred in 956 A. H. For a fuller account of his life and verses refer Badāūnī, Vol. I, pp. 477—480.

[2] Bā Yazīd, Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I. O. MSS. No. 223, fol. 12b.

On another occasion he improved on Jāhī Yatmiyān of Bukhārā, who had entered his service at Cabul. The former had composed a satire on Muhammad Khān Shāpūr and was asked by Humāyūn to read it before the assembly in which Muhammad Khān also was present. When the poet recited the following verses:

[1] شاعرِ شاه همایونم ، خاکِ در گه
میزند کوکبهٔ شاعریم طعنه به مه
وای آنکس که بخیلِ شعرا بستیزد
هرکه باما بستیزد ببلا بستیزد

I am the poet of the King Humāyūn, and am the dust of his court,
The star of the banner of my poetry taunts the moon;
Alas for him who picks a quarrel with the band of poets,
Whoever quarrels with us quarrels with calamity.

Humāyūn at once remarked :

[2] چرا همچنین نمیگوئی "هرکه باما بستیزد بخدا بستیزد"

Why dost thou not say so, "whoever quarrels with us quarrels with God"?

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 477

[2] Ibid.

He has been often referred to by Jauhar and Mīrzā 'Alā'uddaula Qazwīnī as reading the Qur'ān and also quoting from memory several verses from same on various occasions. Once on gaining victory over the Afghāns he recited the verse :

His knowledge of Arabic.

[1] اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ الَّذِی اَحْیَانَا

Praise be to Him Who brought us to life.

On another occasion he quoted from the *Traditions* as follows :

[2] مَنْ حَفَرَ بِیْرًا لِاَخِیْهِ فَقَدْ وَقَعَ فِیْهِ

He who dug a pit for his brother, verily himself fell into it.

Some more instances are to be found in the works of contemporary authors like Bā-Yazīd and Jauhar. They show to a certain extent his knowledge in Arabic as well as his taste for religious literature.

From his very childhood he evinced a taste for Mathematics, History, Geography, and Astronomy, and took regular lessons on these branches of Science from Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī, and Maulānā Ilyās :

His taste for Mathematics, History, Geography, and Astronomy

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[1] Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 37a.

[2] Jauhar, Tazkirat ul Wāqi'āt, B.M MSS., Add. 16, 711. fol. 78b.

[1] ودرهم امسال فرمان عالیشان باسم شیخ ابوالقاسم استرابادی که علم ریاضي را خوب میدانست صادر شده بود...... و حضرت تعظیم شیخ ابوالقاسم (بسیار می کردند) بجهة اینکه قرار داده بودند که شاگرد او شوند و سبق بخوانند و آخر بموجب قرار داد عمل فرمودند و حکیم مشار الیه در سلك سپاهیان در آمده در هند بجاگیر خوب سرفراز گشت -

> And in this very year the royal mandate in the name of Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī who knew the science of Mathematics well, had been issued. And His Majesty had resolved to become his pupil and take lessons from him, and at last His Majesty according to his resolution, acted. And the abovenamed scientist, having entered into His Majesty's service in the link of soldiers, was installed in a good '*jāgīr*' in India.

Abul Fazl and Farishta write thus :

[2] در اقسام علوم ریاضي آنحضرت را پایه بلند بود و همواره به ارباب حکمت صحبت میداشتند و ممتازان علم ریاضي در پایه سریر والا کامیاب سعادت بودند

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[1] Bā Yazīd, Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I. O. MSS., 223, fol. 24b

[2] Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 368.

And in the branches of Mathematics His Majesty ranked high and he always associated with scientists and those distinguished in Mathematics had the boon of attending at the foot of the sublime throne.

[1] ودر علم رياضي عَلَم مهارت مي افراشت مدار صحبتش با علما وفضلا بود و همه وقت درمجلس او مسايل علمي مذكور ميشد -

And in the science of Mathematics he lifted up the banner of skill. His social intercourse was based with the learned and the accomplished, and at all times in his assembly scientific problems were discussed.

In history he appears to have been conversant with the Muslim periods of different countries specially India, Central Asia, and Arabia. Once he related a historical anecdote of Mahmūd of Ghaznī's army to serve as a lesson to his own men purporting that honesty is the key to success.[2]

Also, he transcribed in his own handwriting his father's autobiography '*Wāqi'āt i Bāburī*' from the beginning to the end This would have

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[1] Farishta, Vol I, p 459

[2] Cf. the statement .

حضرت پادشاه این حکایت بمردم خود اظهار کردند که نیت نیک اینچنین ثمره میدهد چون نیت سلطان صادق بود هم قتم ارزانی شد و هم گنج یافت -

[Jauhar, Tazkirat ul Wāqi'āt, B.M., MSS Add. 16711, fol. 106b.]

certainly given him an insight into the social and political relations of the contemporary Central Asian States. He also developed a taste for Geography and had globes constructed for his use :

[1] پس کرۂ خاك و آب انتظام ، تقسیم ربع مسکون
به اقالیم سبعه وقوع یافته بود

> So the globes of the earth and the water had been set up, and the divisions of the habitable quarter into seven regions accomplished.

His tutors in Astronomy were Mullā Nūruddīn, and Maulānā Ilyās. The keen interest which he took in this branch of science is significant as compared with his father's as well as with that of his successors in India. Bābur and pre-Bābur Mughals, (with the exception of 'Ulūgh Bēg[2]) down to his own time, apparently had little faith or

His tutors in Astronomy, and his interest and activities in this branch of science

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[1] Akbar Nāma, Vol I, p 361.

[2] Son of Shāh Rukh and grandson of Tīmūr, had been appointed as governor of *Māwarā un Nahr* during his father's lifetime. He was a devoted student of Astronomy, Mathematics, and Philosophy, and a patron of those interested in scientific subjects. During his governorship he got built at Samarqand an Observatory which was called after his name. He also marked the position of stars and recorded his observations in a separate volume known as '*Zīj i-'Ulūgh Beg*' (or 'Ulūgh Beg's Almanac) Daulat Shāh has given a glorious account of 'Ulūgh Bēg's scientific

knowledge in things astrological. He got built a '*Khargāh*' (a tent) which was divided into twelve halls of audience, each of which was named after one of the twelve constellations of stars. The furniture and paintings of these halls, as also the dresses of the servants, bore emblematic symbol of the planets :

[1]واز حمله مخترعات شریفهٔ آنحضرت خرگاهے بود
که بعدد بروج سپهر مشتمل بر دوازده قسمت بوده
هر برجے مشتمل بر پنجر ها که انوار کواکب دولت از
نقبهاے آن تابان بود و خرگاهے دیگر مانند فلك الافلاك
جمیع جوانب این خرگاه را احاطه نموده بود -

And of all the inventions of His Majesty was a tent which was divided, according to the number of the zodiacs of the sky, into twelve divisions. Every zodiac was divided into cages, from the holes of which the rays of the stars of Fortune shone bright. And another tent like the '*falakul aflāk*' (or the sky of skies) enveloped the sides of this tent.

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activities and his great achievements in the theoretical and applied Astronomy, According to him there has appeared no monarch like ' Ulūgh Bēg, in the whole history of Islām [*vide* Tazkiratush Shu'arā—Edited by Prof. Browne—Account of 'Ulūgh Bēg, pp. 361—6] For a description of a Calendar based on 'Ulūgh Bēg's system, *vide* Carre de Vaux's article ' Un Calendrier Turque ' in Essays presented to Professor E. G Browne, edited by T. W, Arnold and R A Nicholson.

[1] Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 361.

Also, he got ready a carpet which had nine astronomical circles marked on it, each of which was named after a particular star, and assigned to his courtiers according to their ranks :

[1] و از مخترعات آنحضرت بساط نشاط بود و آن بساط
مستدیر مشتمل بود بر دایره افلاك و کرات عناصر، دائره
اول (که منسوب بود بفلك اطلس) سفید رنگ واقع
شده بود و دوم کبود و سیوم بمناسبت زحل سیاه و
چهارم (که محل برجیس است) صندلی و پنجم
(که متعلق به بهرام است) لعلی و ششم (که خانهٔ
نیر اعظم است) زرین ، هفتم (که منزل ناهید است)
سبز روشن و هشتم (که جاے عطارد است) سوسنی
...... و دائره نهم (که منزل قمر است) سفید است و بعد
از دایرهٔ قمر کرهٔ نار و هوا بترتیب مرتب گشته......خود
به نفس نفیس دایرهٔ زرین را اختیار میفرمودند و آنجا
سریر آراے خلافت میشدند و هر طایفه از منسوبات
کواکب سبعه سیاره را در دایرهٔ (که بإ راے آن وضع
کرده شده) بنشستن حکم میفرمودند مثلاً امراے هندي
را دردایرهٔ زحل و سادات و علما را دردایرهٔ مشتري......

And of the inventions of his Majesty was a pleasure carpet, and that spherical carpet was divided into the circles of the sky and the globes of the Elements. The first circle

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[1] Ibid.

(which was attributed to '*falak i atlas*') **was** white in colour; and the second was blue; and the third in appropriateness with Saturn was black; and the fourth (which is the resort of Jupiter) was of sandal colour; and the fifth (which is related to Mars) was of ruby colour; and the sixth (which is the abode of the Sun) golden; and the seventh (which is the resting place of Venus) bright green; and the eighth (which is the place of Mercury) is of lily colour; and the ninth circle (which is the halt of the Moon) is white. And after the circle of the moon the spheres of the fire and the air were arranged in order. His Majesty for himself adopted the golden circle, and there seated himself on the throne, and every group of people, from among those assigned to the seven planets, was ordered by his Majesty to sit in a circle (which was constructed just opposite to that planet) for instance, the Indian *'Umarā* were ordered to sit in the circle of Saturn, and the learned in that of Jupiter.

[1] و از شرایف اختراعات آنحضرت پوشیدن لباس هر روز بود موافق رنگی که منسوب بکوکب روز است که مربی اوست چنانچه در روز یکشنبه خلعت زر می پوشیدند که منسوب به نیراعظم است و در روز دوشنبه لباس سبز که منسوب بقمر است و درین قیاس -

[1] Ibid.

> And among the excellent inventions of his Majesty was the dress for each day in accordance with the colour attributed to the planet of that day which is its patron, so that on Sunday his Majesty robed himself in yellow which is attributed to the Sun, and on Monday in green which is attributed to the Moon, and so on.

He was also preparing to build an observatory for which necessary apparatus and the site had been provided, but owing to his sudden death, the same could not be accomplished

Materials ready for an observatory

[1] و آنحضرت را ارادۂ بستن رصد مصمم بود و بسیارے از آلات رصدی ترتیب داده بودند و چند محل رصد خیال فرموده بودند -

> And his Majesty was firmly resolved to build an observatory and had set up in order many of the instruments for same and had fixed in his mind a few sites as well.

All this taste he acquired in Indian atmosphere evidently under the influence of Hindū astrology which came into contact with Persian astrology for the first time under the patronage of a Mughal emperor. Like the *Pandits* he believed in the efficacy of the stars and their potentiality in producing good or bad results in consequence of which

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[1] Ibid., p 368

he had regulated all his actions according to the supposed influence of the twelve zodiacs and the seven planets. His keenness for astronomical researches has been further described as follows by the Turkish Admiral who was himself made to work on same, and permitted to leave India subject only to the work being finished:

Turkish Admiral's evidence

> "The roads are flooded and impassable, remain therefore till the weather improves. Meanwhile calculate Solar and Lunar Eclipses, their degree of Latitude, and their exact date in the Calendar. Assist our astrologers in studying the course of the Sun, and instruct us concerning the points of the Equator When all this is done and the weather should improve before three months are over, thou shalt go hence". . . All this was said solemnly and decisively, I had no alternative but must submit to my fate. At last I had accomplished the astronomical observations, and about the same time Āgra fell into the hands of the Pādishāh.[1]

[1] A. Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sidi 'Alī, Re'īs, p 48. The part played by astrological terms in the development of the more ornate forms of later Persian is perhaps one of its most remarkable features

CHAPTER III

There were many foreign and Indian poets attached to his court. The following is a selected list of scholars including historians and poets of Persian and Hindī, who received his patronage or actually entered his service in India :

Poets and scholars of his reign.

1. Shaikh Amānullāh Pānipatī
2. Shaikh Gadā'ī Dehlevī
3. Mīr Waisī
4. Shaikh Abdul Wāhid Bilgrāmī
5. Maulānā Jalālī Hindī
6. Maulānā bin i Ashraf al Husainī
7. Maulānā Nādirī Samarqandī
8. Mīr 'Abdul Latīf Qazwīnī
9. Maulānā Ilyās
10. Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī
11. Maulānā Junūbī
12. Shāh Tāhir Dakhanī
13. Shaikh Abul Wājid Fārighī Shīrāzī
14. Yūsuf bin i Muhammad Hirawī
15. Khwāja Ayyūb, son of Khwāja Abul Barakāt
16. Maulānā Muhammad Fāzil Samarqandī
17. Jauhar
18. Bā Yazīd

19. Maulānā Zamīrī Bilgrāmī
20. Khwāja Husain Mervī
21. An unknown poet: author of an epic poem.

A short description of each is given below:

Shaikh Amānullāh Pānīpatī.

A learned Sūfī and theologian—resident of Pānīpat—was one of Humāyūn's chief poets, and wrote several *qasāid* in praise of him. His style is comparatively simple and his poetry sweet and full of pathos. Some specimens of his composition are as follows:

[1] مدام از حسرت آں لعل میگوں
دلے دارم صراحی وار پرخوں
تو چوں لیلی مقیم خلوت ناز
منم آوارۂ عالم چو مجنوں
گر از تن جان بصد حسرت در آید
ز دل مہرت نخواهد رفت بیروں
همایی کامران در بزم عیش است
بعهد خسرو دوران همایوں

Always in fond desire for that wine-coloured ruby,
I have a heart like the wine-jug full of blood;
Thou like Lailā resideth in the seclusion of daintiness,

[1] 'Alī Qulī Wālih Dāghistānī, Riyāz ush Shu'arā, B.M. MSS. Add. 16, 729, fol 44b.

I roam the world like Majnūn ;
Though the soul leaves the body with a
hundredfold remorse,
From my heart thy love will not depart ;
Amānī is happy in the assembly of pleasure,
In the reign of the king of the world,
Humāyūn.

On Mīrzā Hindāl's death, which occurred in a night attack led by Kamrān's troops against Humāyūn's camp which was situated near Surkhāb, Amānī wrote the following chronogram, and presented it to his Majesty ·

[1] شاه هندال سر و گلشن ناز
چون ازین بوستان محنت رفت
گفت تاریخ قمري نالان
سروے از بوستان دولت رفت

Shāh Hindāl, the cypress of the garden of
daintiness,
When he went away from this garden of toil;
The lamenting dove uttered the date,
'A cypress went away from the royal garden.'

Besides this, he composed other chronograms as well, and was chiefly noted in his day for his skill in same. He has been mentioned in this connection by Bā Yazīd who styles him as *Amānī, Manīja* and quotes one of his most beautiful chronograms which

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p 454.

he had composed on the death of Sultān Chaghtā'ī, a young Mughal chief who was a favourite of Humāyūn:

[1] سلطان چغتے بود گل گلشن خوبی
تا گہ اجلش سوي جنان راہ نمون شد
در موسم گل عزم سفر کرد ازین باغ
دل غنچہ صفت در غم او غرقہ بخون شد
تاریخ وے از بلبل ماتم زدہ جستم
در نالہ شد و گفت گل از باغ برون شد

Sultān Chaghtāī was the flower of the
garden of excellence,
All of a sudden Death led him on the way
to Paradise;
In the season of flowers he resolved to go
from this garden,
The heart like the bud drowned in blood in
his grief;
The date of his departure I sought from the
grief-stricken nightingale,
It went into lamentation and said, 'a flower
went out of the garden.'

Shaikh Gadā'ī Dehlevī

He was one of the greatest scholars of Humāyūn's reign, and was the son of the famous poet Shaikh Jamālī Kambūh of Sultān Sikandar Lodī's court. He spent much of his early life in acquiring knowledge and in lecturing to students of moral philosophy

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[1] Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I.O. MSS, 223, fol 22a

and logic in Gujarāt. In the year of Humāyūn's death, he repaired to the court of Akbar at the invitation of Bairām Khān, and was raised through the latter's special favour to the high rank of '*sadārat*.'[1] This installation of the Shaikh was chiefly due to his past loyal services to Bairām Khān during his stay in Gujarāt where he had gone on a special mission in the reign of Humāyūn. His alliance with Bairām Khān which gave him ample shelter and scope for showing favours to his own followers and disciples by appointing them to responsible posts, led him subsequently to interfere with the politics of the State, and he became a zealous member of a political party against Akbar. Abul Fazl as a loyal supporter of Akbar's interests condemns the Shaikh as a mischief-maker and a rebel.[2] His power and influence came to an end with the fall of Bairām Khān. As a scholar he still remained prominent. So great was the fame of his learning that scholars from Māwarā un Nahr, 'Irāq, and Khurāsān, used to come to India for an

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[1] Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p 21.

[2] Cf. the statement:

... .باتفاق شور بختان مثل ولی بیگ ذوالقدر و شیخ گدائی
کینه اندیشهای تباه بخاطر آورده خیالات خام پختن گرفت و چون
باطن نورانی حضرت شاهنشاهی بر خدایع این گروه کافر نعمت آگاهی
یافت پیش از آنکه این گروه گمراه بدکردار خیال فاسد خود ظاهر
سازند الخ

[Ibid., p 93.]

interview with him.[1] He is the first notable example in the reign of Humāyūn to combine the knowledge of Arabic and Persian with that of Hindī. In Persian he wrote chiefly '*ghazal*' of which a specimen is given below:

[2]گهے جان منزل غم شد گہے دل
غمت را میبرم منزل بمنزل
مشو غافل ز حال درد مندی
که از حال تو یکدم نیست غافل
دل دیوانه در زلف تو بستم
گرفتارم بآن مشکیں سلاسل
بجان دادن اگر آسان شدی کار
نبودی عاشقان را هیچ مشکل
گدائي جان بناکامي در آمد
نشد کامم ز لعل یار حاصل

Sometimes the soul was the abode of love,
sometimes the heart,
I carry thy love from place to place;
Be not remiss to the need of one, grief-
stricken,
For he forgets not thee for a moment;

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[1] Cf:

و چند سال مرجع اکابر و افاضل هندوستان و خراسان و ماوراءالنهر
و عراق بودة

[Badāūnī, Vol. III, p. 76]

[2] Ibid.

I tied my infatuated heart to thy curly lock,
I am ensnared in that musky chain;
If by surrendering one's life the task would become easy,
To lovers no difficulty would have remained;
O Gadā'ī, life ended with failure,
My object was not achieved from the ruby lips of the beloved.

He also composed verses in Hindī, and often sang them before his compatriots in Hindī tune.[1] He died in 976 A. H., twelve years after the death of Humāyūn.

Mīr Waisī.

He was one of the grandees of the court of Humāyūn, and is stated, like Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī of Sultān Husain's court, or 'Abdurrahīm *Khān i Khānān* of the reign of Akbar, to be a patron of poets and scholars of his time. He had a fine taste for poetry, and every now and then arranged poetical assemblies in which he personally took part. On one occasion he composed a marvellous ode of which the opening line is as follows:

[2] امیدوار چنانم که شرمساري من
شود به پیش تو عذر گناهگاري من

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[1] Cf. the statement:

و طبع نظم داشته و نقش و صوت هندی مي بست و می گفت

[Ibid.]

[2] Dāghistānī, Riyāz ush Shu'arā, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,729, fol. 479a.

I hope so much that my penitence,
May serve before thee as an excuse for my sin.

One instance of his *qit'a* writing is to be found in the following chronogram which he composed on the death of Mirzā Kāmrān at Mecca :

شه[1] کامران خسرو نامدار
که در سلطنت سر بکیوان رساند
مجاور شد اندر حرم چار سال
بکلي دل از قید عالم رهاند
ز بعد وقوف حج چار مین
باحرام حج جان بجانان نشاند
چو در خواب ویسي در آمد شبي
عنایت نمود و سوے خویش خواند
بگفت ار بپرسندت از فوت ما
بگو - شاه مرحوم در کعبه ماند

The king Kāmrān, the renowned monarch,
Who through rule...raised his head to Saturn;
Became a sojourner in the *harem* for four years,
Freed his heart completely from the prison of this world;
After the realization of the fourth *haj*,
In the *ihrām* of *haj* entrusted his soul to the Beloved;

1 Badāūni, Vol I, p 452.

When one night he appeared in Waisī's dream,
He showed kindness and called him near;
Then said, " if they ask thee about my decease,
Say, the blessed king remained in Ka'ba."

His poetry, as seen from the above, is simple and melodious, and was but slightly affected by the current poetic tendencies at the court

Like Shaikh Gadā'ī he too was a Hindī-Persian poet, and a scholar of varied accomplishments. On account of constant reading and writing his sight became weak. Badāūnī interviewed him at Qannauj in 977 A.H., when the Shaikh on account of his old age had confined himself to his native place His chief works are the following:

Shaikh 'Abdul Wāhid Bilgrāmī.

1. A commentary on *Nuzhat ul Arwāh*[1] which Badāūnī praises as authentic.
2. Sanābil—a treatise on the technical terms of Sūfīsm.

In his last days he was much devoted to Sūfīsm, and wrote several works on that subject. He also composed Hindī verses and sang them in Hindī tune. In Persian composition he paid more attention to '*ghazal*' and wrote elegant verses in same. The chief feature of his poetry, as is commonly observed in contemporary writers, is the frequent use of figures of speech with an attempt to create niceties in them. Once he wrote a '*ghazal*' with a flexible turn of phrase

[1] A work on Sūfīsm by a celebrated scholar Fakhrus Sa'ādat, written in the early part of the eighth century A.H. at Herāt.

and fancy in praise of his dear friend named Rāja. The opening line is worth noticing :

[1] اے کردہ خیال تو بہ تخت دل ما جا
ہرگز نبود در دل ما غیر ترا جا

O thou, whose thought has made its seat on the throne of my heart,
Never in my heart is there place for other than thee.

Another beautiful verse quoted by Badāūnī is as follows :

مرو بجنگ چو اول بصلحم آمدۂ
دمی بلطف نشین تا ز خویش برخیزم

A poet of Humāyūn's court chiefly known for his lyric poetry and enigma-writing both in Hindī and Persian. Two of his '*ghazals*,' of which the opening lines are as follows, are specially noteworthy as serving to illustrate the tendency of average poets towards introducing original and creative ideas with flexible shifts :

Maulānā Jalālī Hindī

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[1] **Badāūnī**, Vol III, p 66
[Note the play on the Hindī word Rāja(راجا)and its ingenious fusion into the Persian compound(تراجا)which may equally be read as(توراجا)making it a Persian-Hindī compound with a welcome shift in meaning

[1] زاهد ز جام بادۂ لعل تو مست شد
روے تو دید عاشق و آتش پرست شد

The devotee got intoxicated from the cup of the wine of thy ruby (lip),
The lover saw thy face and became a fire-worshipper.

[2] وعدۂ وصل تو اے ماہ بعید افتادہ است
وہ کہ این وعدہ چہ بسیار بعید افتادہ است

Thy promise of union, O moon, has fallen on the 'Īd,
Oh, on what a distant date this promise has fallen!

He flourished in India under Bābur and Humāyūn, and was among the literati of their courts. He was a student of natural science in which he seemed to take great interest. His work entitled '*Jawāhir nāma i Humāyūnī*'[3] which he dedicated jointly to the father and the son[4] is a dissertation on the

Muhammad Ibn i Ashraf al Husainī ar Rustamdārī

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[1] Dāghistānī, Riyāz ush Shu'arā, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,729, fol. 109b.

[2] Ibid

[3] Or, 1717, B.M. MSS

[4] Cf the statement:

چنین گوید محرر این رسالہ محمد ابن اشرف الحسینی الرستمداری
... کہ درین اوقات کہ اعلی حضرت ابوالغازی ظہیرالدین محمد بابر
پادشاہ خلد اللہ ملکہ...تمام ممالک ہندوستان را در تحت لواے
عرش آساے خود در آوردہ.. مناسب بود بلکہ واجب خیال نمود
کہ رسالہ فاخرہ در باب جواہر مرتب ساختہ موشح بالقاب سامی نامی
پادشاہ و پادشاہزادگان ..... الخ -

(Ibid., foll. 3a—3b.]

use and formation of precious stones and other mineral It is divided into 22 chapters as follows:

Preface	Foll 1a–4b	A short discourse on the divisions of natural objects
Chapter I	,, 4b—11a	On '*lūlū*' (pearl)
,, II	,, 11a—15b	On '*ya'qūt*' (saphire)
,, III	,, 15b—19a	On 'la'l' (ruby)
,, IV	,, 19a 21b	On '*zamurrad*' (emerald) and '*zabarjad*' (topaz)
,, V	,, 21b–22b	On '*zabarjad*' (topaz)
,, VI	,, 22b—26b	On '*almās*' (diamond)
,, VII	,, 26b—27b	On '*ainul hur* (cat's eye)
,, VIII	,, 27b—31b	On '*fīrūza*' (turquoise)
,, IX	,, 31b—42b	On '*pā-zahr*'[1]
,, X	,, 42b -43b	On '*aqīq* (cornelian)
,, XI	,, 43b—45a	On 'other' stones of the same family.
,, XII	,, 45a 45b	On '*Jaza*' (a kind of stone)
,, XIII	,, 45b–48b	On '*maqnātīs*' (magnet)
,, XIV	,, 48b—49a	On '*sundbāda*' (a stone used for polishing metal)
,, XV	,, 49a 50a	On '*dahāna*' (a mineral)
,, XVI	,, 50a—53a	On '*lājward*' (lapiz lazuli)
,, XVII	,, 53a -55b	On *busud* wa *marjān* (corals and pearls)
,, XVIII	,, 55b - 57b.	On '*yashab*' (jasper)
,, XIX	,, 57b - 58b	On '*billūr*' (crystal)
,, XX	,, 58b—59a	On '*kān*' (mine)
,, XXI	,, 59a - 69a.	On miscellaneous kinds of stones
,, XXII	,, 69a 77b	On metals

[1] A charmed stone said to be found in the head of serpents and is reputed as an antidote for all kinds of poison.

It was undertaken in the reign of Bābur sometime after his conquest of Hindūstān,[1] and finished under the patronage of Humāyūn and presented to him.

Maulānā Nādirī Samarqandī.

He was a learned scholar of Arabic and Persian. He came to Āgra from Samarqand and was given a place among the elite of the court. Badāūnī's remark about his scholarship is as follows :

[2]مولانا نادري سمرقندي.....از نوا در روزگار و فاضل و جامع كامل دود -

> Maulānā Nādirī Samarqandī was among the rarities of the age, and was a highly learned and accomplished scholar.

As a poet of Persian language he built up a reputation and wrote all kinds of poetry including '*ghazal*' *rubā'ī* and '*qasīda*.' A specimen of each is given below :

Ghazal .

[3]وه چه خرام است قد یار را
نده شوم آں قد و رفتار را
یار سوے ما نه ترحم ندید
داشت مگر جانب اغیار را
سوے خرابات گذر نادری
در سر می کن سر و دستار را

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[1] *Vide* Supra, p fn. 2

[2] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 472.

[3] Ibid.

How charming is the gait and the form of the beloved,
I would become a slave to that form and gait;
The beloved did not look on us with pity,
Perhaps he cherished a regard for the rivals;
Go towards the tavern O Nādirī!
Yield your head and turban to the thought of wine.

His composition was not without subtleties which had been largely introduced in India under the patronage of the Mughal court. The following verse which he composed in praise of one Nizām, with whom he is said to have been in love, is illustrative of the popular taste and the atmospheric *tendencies* in the art of composition.

[1] من دل شکسته گویم صفت نظام نامی
که نداشت بی‌وصالش دل ناتوان نظامی

I the broken-hearted utter the praise of the one named Nizām,
For my weak heart did not keep order (*nizām*) without union with him.

[2] سر کوبت که عمری بودم آنجا
بعمر خود کجا آسودم آنجا

[1] Ibid., p 472

[2] Ibid., p 473

NOTE.—The second hemistich of the first line may also be translated as 'I swear by my life when did I get rest there'?

بقصد سجده هر جا سر نهادم
تو بودي كعبهٔ مقصودم آنجا
جهاني محرم و من مانده محروم
همه مقبول و من مردودم آنجا
چه پرسي نادري چوني دران كو
گهے ناخوش گهے خوش بودم آنجا

At the top of thy lane where I have lived a lifetime,
When did I get rest in my whole life ?
With the intent of prostration where'er I laid my head,
Thou wast the Ka'ba of my object there;
What dost thou ask, 'O Nādirī, how farest thee in that lane'?
Sometimes unhappy and sometimes happy was I there.

Rubā'i

رنجورم و در دل از تو دارم صد غم[1]
بے لعل لبت حريف درد دم همه دم
زين عمر ملولم من مسكين غريب
خواهم شود آرام گهم كوے عدم

Grief-stricken I am, and I possess in my heart a hundred sorrows from thee,
Without the ruby of thy lip I am faced with anguish all the moments;

[1] Ibid., p. 472.

In this life am melancholy, I, the humble and the indigent,
My place of rest shall be the lane of annihilation.

One of his '*qasā'id*,' in which he delineated on *Humāyūn's taste for* Mathematics and his prepossessions *for science, is as* follows. It is as well illustrative *of the general style* and *the* standard obtained *in the art of 'qasida'* writing

[1] المنة لله که بجمعیت خاطر
با عیش نشستند حریفان معاصر
گلزار تماشا گه خلق است که آنجا
در حضرت گل بلبل غایب شده حاضر
عریان ز خزان بود مگر شاهد بستان
کز خرقه صد پاره گل دوخته ساتر
یکجاست گل و یاسمن و سنبل و ریحان
سلطان بهار آمده باخیل و عساکر
مرغان صفت شاه فلك مرتبه خوانان
بر شاخ درختان چو خطیبان منابر
خاقان معظم شه جم قدر همایون
کش هست قوی دست دل از قدرت قادر
از دانش او دانش اصحاب بصیرت
وزبینش او بینش ارباب بصایر
منهی چو حرام است در احکام شریعت

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[1] Ibid p. 478.

اقبال نماید بمراعات اوامر
جمع آمده بهر ظفر لشکر اسلام
آحاد سپاهش ز دلیران عساکر
زیر علم فتح میدان سعادت
بادش کرم لم یزلی حافظ و ناصر
اے تا کف جود تو قوام همه اشیا
قایم بدم تیغ تو اعراض و جواهر
در روز ازل بود خداوند جهان را
مقصود وجود تو ازین چنبر دایر
جبریل اگر بار دگر وحی بیارد
در شان تو ظاهر شود آیات ظواهر
هر نکتهٔ حکمت که لب لعل تو فرمود
مشهور جهان شد چو حدیث متواتر
مبنی است که شرح کتب فن ریاضی است
تصنیف متین تو ز ایجاد دوایر
کس دانش بسیار ترا چون کند انکار
انکار بدیهی نکند غیر مکابر
احصاے کمالات تو کردن نتوانم
کامل همه فنها شدهٔ کامل و ماهر
با عقل حکیمانه و اقبال تو دارد
نفس ملکی نسبت اجناس مشاهر
جود تو بنوعیست که در ساعت بخشش
نا خواسته دانی همه حاجات ضمایر

He died in 966 A. H., and the following chronogram was written by Mr. Amāni Kablī:

[1]وا حسرتا که نادری نکته دان نماند
آن نادری که داد سخن داد درجهان
جستم برسم تعمیه تاریخ فوت او
گفتا خرد که رفت یکی از سخنوران

Mir 'Abdul Latif Qazwini.

He was appointed by Humāyūn as tutor to the young prince Akbar at Cābul, after Mullā Pīr Muhammad.[2] On Humāyūn's second entry into Hindūstān he was invited by the latter to come to Āgra, and on his arrival in 963 A.H., just after Humāyūn's death, was received by Akbar with marks of greatest favour and kindness.[3] His father Qāzi Yahyā was well-read in history and enjoyed the fame of a historian in his lifetime. He is said to have known by heart the various Muslim dynasties that ruled in Central Asia, Turkey, and Hindustān. Hairatī, a poet of Trans-Caspian Province, eulogises his wonderful memory and historical insight in the following complimentary verse :

[4]قصهٔ تاریخ ازو باید شنید
کس درین تاریخ مثل او ندید

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[1] Ibid, p 475.

[2] Farishta, Vol. I, p 466

[3] Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p. 19

[4] Badāūnī, Vol. III, p 97

The tale of history ought to be heard from him,
None in the present day has seen any one like him.

Mīr 'Abdul Latīf himself, like his father, was deeply interested in history, and it was probably due to his command of the subject that he received his appointment as tutor to the young prince. It is noteworthy that his younger brother Mīr 'Alā'ud-daula Qazwīnī, who was trained and brought up under the fostering care of his elder brother, was equally a fine historian, and wrote the famous work '*Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir*' from which both Badāūnī and Abul Fazl have derived their material for the literary phase of Humāyūn's reign.

Maulānā Ilyās

He was a student of Mathematics and Astronomy, and was unrivalled in his day for his knowledge in those two branches of science. He acted as tutor to Humāyūn, and taught him lessons on Astronomy. It was due mostly to the training received under him that Humāyūn subsequently developed a considerable taste for that science. Badāūnī tells us that he was proficient in the subject and thoroughly capable of erecting an Observatory.[1] Once when he happened to visit Ardabīl in the latter part of his life, he wrote a letter to Shāh Isma'īl II (whom Shāh Tahmāsp

[1] Cf the statement.

مولانا الیاس...که استاد همایون پادشاه ، و لیاقت و استعداد رصد بندی داشت الخ

[Ibid., p. 131.]

had in his lifetime imprisoned in the fort of '*Qahqaha*'), saying that from the confluence of stars it transpires that he (Shāh Isma'īl II) would succeed to the throne and that his other opponents would soon be vanquished. In that letter he also directed Shāh Isma'īl to visit him at Ardabīl on his release from the prison so that he might put him under the right stars which would lead to his future glory and uninterrupted retention of power. But the latter, while passing Ardabīl in procession, on being released by his party in consequence of the revolution which followed the death of his arch-rival Haidar Mīrzā, forgot to see the Maulānā, and having gone some distance subsequently recollected the prediction and suddenly turned back and called at the Maulānā's house. The Maulānā locked the door from inside but the Shāh managed to get in by climbing over the wall. Thereupon the Maulānā covered his face and refused to see him saying that the hour appointed was gone and the opportunity lost, since the planets had just moved from their position The Shāh then was obliged to leave, and though proclaimed king at Qazwīn, yet strange to say that after a year's successful reign, he met his tragic death in a confectioner's house in 985 A.H. It was surmised that he was poisoned at night when under the intoxication of opium, in consequence of the cruelties which he had inflicted on his house and the court.[1]

[1] Sir John Malcolm, History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 517, London, 1815.

He was a distinguished scholar and a favourite poet of Humāyūn. As the latter he wrote all kinds of poetry, and compiled a separate *'dīwān'* consisting of *'qasīda,' 'masnawī,'* and *'ghazal.'* He stands a contrast with his fellow-poets in easiness of style and use of simple and plain language. The sweetness inherent in his poetry is hardly approached by any one of his contemporaries. He composed several *'qasā'id'* and *'qit'āt'* in praise of Humāyūn. The following chronogram which he wrote on the emperor's death is reproduced by Jauhar as one of the finest ever written :

Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī.

[1] همایوں پادشاہ آں آفتابی
که فیض شامل او عام افتاد
بنائے دولتش چوں یافت رفعت
اساس عمرش از انجام افتاد

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[1] Tazkirat ul Wāqi'āt, B M MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 144a. NOTE.—Mirza 'Alā'uddaula Qazwini, author of Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, quotes only three verses of which only one is common. The other two are as follows :

همایوں پادشاہ ملک و معنی ندارد کس چو او شاهنشهی یاد
ز بام قصر خود افتاد تا گه ازاں عمر عزیزش رفته برباد

The same is reproduced by Badāūni, and quoted by Prof Browne It is noteworthy that the last line which is the chronogram of Humāyūn's death gives the year 962. But the death actually took place in 963 A H, and the chronogram is therefore short by 1 year.

چو خورشیدے جہانتاب ازبلندی
بپایاں در نماز شام افتاد
جہاں تاریك شد در چشم مردم
خلل در کار خاص و عام افتاد
پي تاریخ او کاهي رقم زد
"همایوں بادشاه از بام افتاد"

Humāyūn, the king, is that sun,
Whose all-embracing bounty fell common to all;
The structure of his power, when it attained its height,
The foundation of his life fell from its base;
Like the world-illuminating sun from its height,
Down below at the time of evening prayer he fell;
The world became dark in the eyes of the people,
On the work of the high and the low confusion fell;
For the date thereof Kāhi wrote,
Humāyūn, the king, from the terrace fell.

Of all the chronograms composed by other poets, this is decidedly the most natural and stands unbeaten in the simplicity of style, accuracy of detail, and beauty of language Another equally simple and suggestive chronogram which he wrote

on Kāmrān's death, which took place at Mecca, is as follows:

[1]کامران آنکه پادشاهی را
کس نبود ست همچو او درخورد
شد ز کابل به کعبه و آنجا
جان بحق داد و تن بخاک سپرد
گفت تاریخ او چنین کاهی
پادشاه کامران به کعبه مرد

Kāmrān was such that for the place of king,
There was none so worthy as he;
He went from Cābul to Ka'ba, and there,
Entrusted the soul to the True One, and the body to the earth;
Kāhī wrote the chronogram thus:
'The king Kāmrān died in Ka'ba.'

Abul Fazl calls him Miyān Kālē and counts him among the foremost poets of Akbar's court. Badāūnī, too, though points out his certain faults as a poet, thinks him unrivalled in his day in the essential features of poetry and in the composition of chronograms. He had also associated for some time with Jāmī at Herāt, and acquired there a competent knowledge of the commentary of the Qur'ān and mysticism. In the company of Kāmrān he had gone to Mecca and performed his pilgrimage. For all this Badāūnī thinks him an atheist and finds him guilty

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1 Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 452.

of gross religious and moral offences.[1] It is amusing, however, to note that his composed poems were universally popular and sung even in Badāūnī's time in the assemblies of the Sūfīs.[2] The opening lines of some of his odes are as follows. They are unsurpassed in poetic grace and are to be classed among the best productions:

[3] به ناز کشت جهاني بت ستمگر من
هنوز بر سر ناز است ناز پرور من

My relentless love has slain a whole world with his daintiness,
Still he, the cherisher of my temper, is carrying on his amorous playfulness.

[4] به نرگس است عیان بر سر مزار مرا
سفید شد برهت چشم انتظار مرا

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[1] NOTE — Badāūnī's displeasure is probably due to the poet's acceptance of Akbar's heresies, for Abul Fazl calls him a disciple of the emperor, and also hints at his free and unorthodox life. Cf —

از مشرب فراخي پراگندهٔ چند گرد او فراهم بودي و با چندين وارستگي
خويش پردهٔ آرائي گيتي خداوند خويشتن را از مريدان بر شمردي —
[Ā'īn i Akbarī, Vol. I, p. 244.]

[2] Cf. the statement.

و این هر دو غزل را صوفی خوب بسته که در عالم شهرهٔ یافته در
مجالس میخوانند و بزم ملوک و اهل سلوک بدان آرایش می یابد —
[Badāūnī, Vol I, p 452.]

[3] Ibid. Vol III, p. 174.

NOTE — Love is often treated by Persian poets as an ideal and then is referred to in masculine terms, in the same way as Cupid is treated in English poetry

[4] Ibid.

It is not the narcissus that has displayed
itself over my grave,
It is my vigilant eye that has in the long
expectation of thee turned white.

[1] مرغ تا به فرق مجنون پر زدن انگیز کرد
آتش سودای لیلی بر سر او تیز کرد

The bird since it has started flapping its
wings over Majnūn's head,
It has kindled the fire of his love for Lailā
ever more.

[2] چون ز عکس عارضش آئینه پر گل شود
گر در آن آئینه طوطی بنگرد بلبل شود

Since from the reflection of his cheek the
mirror becomes full of flower,
If therefore a parrot look into that mirror,
she would become a nightingale.

[3] ریخت باران بلا بر تن غم پرور ما
چه بلاها که نیاورد فلک بر سر ما

The rain of distress poured on my grief-worn
body,
What calamities did the sky not bring down
on my head!

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[1] Ibid

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

The following, which is full of romantic similes and metaphors, is in praise of a handsome Yogi youth:

[1] آتشین رویت ز خاکستر چو نیلوفر شده
با نقاب از آتش روے تو خاکستر شده

Thy fiery face has become like a lotus through
the ashes smeared on thy face,
Or the veil through the fire of thy face got
burnt into ashes.

In a long '*qasīda*'[2] he dwelt on Humāyūn's taste for Astronomy and the uses of certain instruments like the 'astrolabe,' and 'compass' etc., which Humāyūn had collected for his contemplated observatory.

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[1] Ibid

NOTE —It is still the custom of a Hindū Yogi to go about with his face smeared with dust, or ashes

It may also be observed that the similes employed here are drawn purely from Indian life and surroundings, and the verse is in every aspect Indian in its conception with the creative genius of a poet playing its part under favourable and encouraging circumstances

[2] This is the second notable instance to come across after Nādirī's *qasīda* where the genius of a poet took a scientific turn and was spent in describing apparatuses instead of the usual praises of the court. This was done evidently to arrest Humayūn's attention and to commend their poetry to his notice. They knew that to gain his full appreciation of their verses it was necessary to compose them according to the royal taste. This shows the extent of the influence that the individual taste of a Mughal sovereign in India could exercise over the literati of his court, as also his power to direct and mould the popular taste of the country as a whole.

He was a poet of great gifts and composed several pieces extempore in his wonted strain. Once during his illness when Khwāja Mu'azzam Khān, a noble of Khairābād, went, in spite of pain in his foot, to see him, he recited offhand a *'ghazal'* welcoming the Khwāja, to the latter's great astonishment. It ran thus:

[1] ماندي قدم زناز بروے نیاز من
دردے مباد پاے ترا سرو ناز من
هر چند وصف وصل تو کردم شب فراق
کوته نگشت قصۀ درد دراز من

Thou hast stepped daintily over my needy face,
May there be no pain to thy foot, O my tender cypress;
However much I uttered the praises of thy union on the night of separation,
My lengthy tale of sorrow did not come to a finish.

He also wrote a *'masnawī'* entitled *'gul afshān'* as a reply to Sa'dī's Būstān, and compiled a *'dīwān'* consisting of *'ghazal,' 'masnawī,' 'ruba'i,'* and *'qasīda.'*

Before his coming to India, he had the usual prejudice which is of interest to note in his following composition:

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[1] Ibid, p 175

[1]چون سایه همرهیم بهر سو روان شوی
باشد که رفته رفته بما مهربان شوی
اے پیر عشق صحبت یوسف رخی طلب
نبود عجب که همچو زلیخا جوان شوی
کاهی تو بلبل چمن آرائے کابلی
زاغ و زغن نهٔ که به هندوستان شوی

Like a shadow we accompany thee wherever thou shouldst go,
May be that by degrees thou shouldst become kind to us ;
O sage of love, seek the society of one like Joseph,
It is not strange that like Zulaikhā thou shouldst become young ;
O, Kāhī, thou art the nightingale which adorns the garden of Cābul,
Thou art not a *crow* and a *kite* to go to Hindūstān.

Soon after his arrival in India, there was a marked change in his tone which was gradually softened into the praises for the court and its literati.

He ranked among the foremost poets of Badakhshān, and entered Humāyūn's service when the latter conquered that province. In commemoration of this victory he composed the following chronogram and presented it to the emperor :

Maulānā Junūbī.

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[1] Ibid., p 173

توئي شاه شاهان دوران كه شد[1]
هميشه ترا كار فتح و ظفر
گرفتي بدخشان و تاريخ شد
محمد همايون شه بحروبر

Thou art the king of kings of the age,
Thy work ever ended in victory and triumph ;
Thou didst seize Badakhshān, and the date
was found in,
" Muhammad Humāyūn is the king of land
and sea."

He also wrote several *'qasā'id''* in praise of his master in the metre and style of Nizāmī, and Anwarī. The one quoted by Badāūnī, as being most famous and widely read, runs thus :

شهنشاها رخ تو لاله و نسرين لب تو جان[2]
همين بينم لب تو غنچهٔ رنگين شده خندان
نمي گويم خط تو سبزه و ريحان خد تو گل
شود ظاهر قد تو فتنهٔ دوران دم جولان

O emperor, thy face is tulip and wild rose,
and thy lip is life,
I see thy lip a bud of resplendent hue that
has just begun to smile ;
I say not the *down* on thy cheek verdure and
hyacinth, nor thy cheek a rose,

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[1] Ibid , p. 470.

[2] Ibid., p 469.

Thy form shall prove to be '*the turmoil of the age*' when thou dost move.

The tendency to create subtleties in the use of figures of speech and exhaust skill at the artful devices, which is a striking feature of the later Mughal age, is also visible in his writings. In a '*masnawi*' which he composed in eulogy of his master he made use of all such subtleties to the discomfiture of his contemporaries. From its very first line quoted below, the drift and character of the whole poem can be gauged :

شهنشاه دین پادشاه زمان[1]
ز بخت همایون شده کامران

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[1] Ibid

Note the artistic use of the word '*humāyūn*' with '*kāmrān*' in their both concrete and adjectival senses This is a typical example of the usual attempts at the Indian courts to exhaust two or more figures of speech in one phrase The prominent figures in the above are ایهام and مراعاة النظیر [Equivocation and Homogeneity] The great incentive to this sort of production is to be found in the applausive support of the Mughal kings who encouraged its growth in India as a piece of literary skill But it must not be understood that this hobby was exclusively Indian It was in fact Persian, but developed in India under more favourable circumstances Cf a similar instance of play on the word '*mahmūd*' (name of Sultān Mahmūd Ghaznawī) at the Persian court of Shāh 'Abbās—the Great, from Zulālī's masnawī entitled '*Mahmūd wa Ayāz*' beginning

بنام آنکه محمودش ایاز است * عمش بتطانه ناز و نیاز است

Also cf the finishing line الهی عاقبت محمود باشد [B.M MSS., Or. 350] For further illustrations *vide* supra, p. F. N. 3.

The emperor of religion and the king of the age,
Became victorious through auspicious fortune.

His other poems including '*rubā'iyāt*' and '*qasā'id*' are to be found in the biographies of Persian poets. Some selections have been given by Badāūnī and Abul Fazl. The following from the latter is reproduced as a clever composition in praise of Akbar, inducing him to bestow on the poet yet another elephant loaded with gold :

[1] تا بفیلاں میل دیدم دلستان خویش را
صرف راه فیل کردم نقد جان خویش را
خاك برسر میکنم چون فیل هر جا میرسم
گر نه بینم در سر خود فیلبان خویش را
شاه فیل افگن جلال الدین محمد اکبر است
آنکه بخشد فیل زربن شاعران خویش را

Since I noticed the attention of my heart-ravisher towards elephants,
I spent in the path of the elephants the cash of my life;
I throw dust over my head like an elephant wherever I go,

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1 Ā'in i Akbarī Vol I p. 244.
The above poem is a very good example of the Persian figure of speech known as حسن طلب, wherein the channels of thought and metaphor are suggested purely from the luxuries of an Indian court.

If I do not find on my head my elephant-driver;
The *elephant-braver* king is that Jalāluddīn Muhammad Akbar,
Who bestows on his poets elephants loaded with gold.

He combined the knowledge of Astronomy with Poetry. In the latter he confined his attention chiefly to '*qasīda*'-writing, and followed Nizām i Astrābādī, and Anwarī in general style. He entered Humāyūn's service in the first part of his reign, and presented to him the following '*qasīda*' which he had composed in the metre of Anwarī:

Shāh Tāhir Dakhanī.

[1] محمل مهر چو آید بشبستان حمل
لاله فانوس بر افروزد و نرگس مشعل
کوه از درد سر بهمن ودی رست کنون
شوید از ناصیه اش ابر بهاری صندل

The litter of the sun when it enters the night-chamber of the *Ram*,
The tulip lights up the candle-lamp, and the narcissus the torch;
The mountain is now relieved of the headache of December and January,

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1 Badāūnī—Vol. I, p. 483
Cf. Anwarī's *qasīda*:

جرم خورشید چو از حوت درآید بحمل
اشهب روز کند ادهم شب را ارجل

The spring cloud washes the sandal powder
from off its face.

Some of his '*qasāid*' are most remarkable, and are composed in close imitation of those of the leading Persian poets like Salmān, Zahīr, Anwarī, and Khāqānī. A few, of which the opening lines are quoted below, are specially noteworthy :

[1] در غم آباد جهاں عیش ازدل ناشاد رفت
خوبه غم کردیم چندانی که عیش ازیاد رفت

In the grief-inhabited world, life's joy left the
unhappy heart,
So much to grief were we given that life's
joy was forgotten.

[2] ما بجرم عشق بدنامیم و زاهد ازریا
هردو بدنامیم امّا ماکجاو او کجا

We are notorious for our guilt of love, and the
devotee for his hypocrisy,
Both are notorious, but see the difference
between him and ourselves.

[3] ببرون میا که شهرۀ ایام میشوي
ما کشتۀ میشویم تو بدنام میشوی

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[1] Ibid., p. 487.

[2] Ibid

[3] Ibid.

Don't come out, for thy fame will spread,
We shall be killed and thou wilt be slandered.

[1]هر آنکس که برکام گیتی نهد دل
بنزدیك اهل خرد نیست عاقل

He who fixes his heart on the object of the world,
Is not wise before the men of wisdom.

[2]باز وقتست که برطبق تقاضاے فلك
افگند بر سر ایوان چمن گل نوشك

Again 'Tis time, through the sky's demands,
That the rose spread a carpet before the palace-garden's gate.

He is called '*Dakhanī*' because he had devoted himself in his later years entirely to Deccan, and rose to considerable influence and fortune there. He originally belonged to 'Irāq wherefrom he came to Āgra and stayed there for some time in the beginning. Since he was an orthodox Shī'a and a zealous advocate of his religion, he often discussed with the Sunnī court religious questions which eventually led to a friction between himself and his Sunnī associates. He called himself a relation of Shāh Tahmāsp, and might be that he was purposely sent to Humāyūn's court by the Shāh to convert the emperor into Shī'a. From Āgra he went to his

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Ibid., p. 484

elder brother Shāh Ja'far in Deccan and took service under Burhān Nizām Shāh I, ruler of Ahmadnagar, who soon raised him to the rank of Deputy (*Vakīl*). He is an epoch-making personage and opens a new chapter in the history of the Deccan by introducing the Shī'a faith in that country and converting the Shāh into a zealous Shī'a. Badāūnī relates the incident which led to the conversion of the Shāh as follows :

[1] و نظام شاه بحری را که بیماری مزمن لاعلاج داشت بطفیل نسون خوانی شاه جعفر صحتی روی داد و این معنی را......حمل در کرامات شاه جعفر نموده باغوای او از مذهب سنت و جماعت که بطریق مهدویه داشت بر آمده مترفض غالی شد

[1] Ibid., p 483.

NOTE. A doubt is expressed by Professor Browne, in his recent work 'Persian Literature in Modern Times, A.D. 1500—1924' p. 169, fn. 3, as to the correctness of the epithet '*Bahrī*' with which the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar were known. Cf —

"I doubt if '*Bahrī*' is a correct reading: it should perhaps be '*Burhān*,' the proper name of the second of the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar who reigned, etc."

As to its correctness as a title or surname of the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar, there is not the least doubt The historian Farishtā who, on his arrival in India, had at first settled at Ahmadnagar, due to his father's appointment as tutor to Murtuza Nizām Shāh, says that Nizāmul Mulk I, (whose real name, on his conversion to Islām, had been changed from Malik Nā'ib to Malik Hasan) was for a time called '*Bahar lū*' after the name of his Brahman father

> And to Nizām Shāh Bahrī, who had a chronic and incurable disease, through Shāh Ja'far's recitation of charm, relief appeared. And having attributed this to Shāh Ja'far's supernatural powers, the king, through his instigation, renounced the Sunnī faith which he had on the manner of Mahdiwī sect, and became a zealous bigot.

He died in 952 A.H., and the date was found in the ingenious phrase او تابع اهل بیت بوده, and he was the follower of the house of 'Alī He was an excellent poet, and is the author of several poetical works consisting mostly of *'masnawī* and *'qasā'id* in praise of Humāyūn and Nizām Shāh Bahrī.

Shaikh Abul Wājid Fārighī Shīrāzī

He came to Āgra from Shīrāz, and took his role as one of Humāyūn's court poets. He had a Sūfistic turn of mind and lived a simple and unostentatious life. Badāūnī testifies to his fame as a poet and his tendency to Sūfism He possessed a sweet tongue and his poetry

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'Bahar.' This appellation was changed by Sultān Muhammad Shāh into *'Bahrī'* with which the dynasty became subsequently known in the Deccan The Sultān had also entrusted to his care his favourite hawk together with other hunting animals due to the suggestivity of the word 'Bahrī' (a hawk or a falcon). Cf the statement .

سلطان محمد شاه دراوان طفلي چون لفظ بحري را تعريف كرده
ملک حسن بحري ميگفت هرآينه بين الخاص والعام به بحري ملقب
گشت. . ... ,بحري خاصه خود را و باشه جميع جانوران شكاري
.... بواسطه مناسبت لفظي حواله ملک حسن بحري نمود -

[Farishta, Vol. II, p. 534.]

was full of pathos and the pang of spiritual love. He wrote chiefly *'ghazal'* on separation from his ideal beloved and in complaint of the latter's inattentions. Some specimens are as follows:

[1] از بس که آن جفا جو آزار مینماید
اندك ترحم او بسیار مینماید

Since great is the torture that that tyrant shows,
A little mercy from him appears as much.

[2] بحمدالله که وار ستم ز عشق مست بد خوي
که مي أفتاد چون چشم خود از مستي بهر کوي
چو ساغر از برای جرعۀ لب بر لب هرکس
صراحي وار بهر ساغری مائل بهر سوی

God be praised that I was freed from the love of a quarrelsome drunkard,
Who fell into every street like his own intoxicated eye;
Like a wine-cup for a draught of wine, he put his lip to the lip of every one,
Like a jug of wine, for a cup of wine, he was going in every direction.

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[1] Badāūni, Vol. I, p. 475.

[2] Ibid.

عمري كه دل بوصل توام بهره مند بود[1]
بنمود آنقدر كه توان گفت چند بود
القصه در فراق بسر شد شمار عمر
سرمايهٔ وصال كه داند كه چند بود
اغيار دوش پيش تو بودند و فارغي
از دورها بر آتش حرمان سپند بود

It is long time since my heart had the boon of union with thee,
It was so short that it was as if it were not
In short, the days of life were spent in separation,
The wealth of union who knew how great it was?
The rivals, last night, were before thee, and Fārighī,
From afar was like a rue on the fire of despair.

رشتهٔ جمعيت اے ياران همدم مگسليد[2]
در پريشاني پريشانيست از هم مگسليد

The string of union do not break, O companions of breath,
In scattering there is distress, do not break away from each other.

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[1] Ibid, p. 476
[2] Ibid.

چو تیر خود کشي از سینه‌ام نگذار پیکان را[1]
مرا دل ده که تا مردانه در راهت دهم جان را

When thou drawest the arrow from my chest,
leave the arrow-head,
Give me heart so that like a brave man I may
give my life in thy path.

He breathed his last in 940A.H., at Āgra, and was buried by the side of his late friend Shaikh Zainuddīn whose death had occurred just a few months before him.[2]

He lived at the Mughal court as personal physician to Bābur and Humāyūn, and also as chief Munshī to the latter. He is the author of several works of diverse utility and nature including poetical, medicinal, and epistolary. In poetry he wrote chiefly '*qasīda*' on subjects connected with public health and hygiene, under the pen-name '*Yūsufī*.' Some of his works are the following :

Yūsuf bin i Muhammad Hirwaī

[1] Ibid.

[2] This is to be noted that both these poets on their arrival in India were in a very miserable condition Shaikh Abul Wājid who came from Shīrāz had nothing with him besides one old fur coat on his body, and so did the other. Cf. the statement :

زماني که هر دو بزرگوار متوجه هند بودند از قماش مطلقا غیر از کهنه پوستیني باخود نداشتند

[Ibid., p. 477.] From this extreme poverty they rose to fortune under the Mughal patronage Shaikh Zainuddīn was appointed as 'Sadr' by Bābur and Abul Wājid occupied a seat among the court poets of Humāyūn.

I. *Riyāz ul Inshā*[1]: a treatise on the properties of simple and compound medicinal herbs and prescriptions, undertaken in 946 A.H., and on finish dedicated to Humāyūn.

II. *Jāmi'ul Fawa'id*[2] : a work on general medicine treating of their uses, benefits, and injuries, with certain guiding rules.

III. *Qāsīda fī hifz i Sihat* : a poem on the main principles of hygiene, dedicated to Bābur in 937 A. H., when he was not keeping good health.

IV. *Badāi'ul Inshā:* a treatise on the art of literary composition, giving proper titles and forms of addresses in accordance with the rank and profession of the addressee. It was written in 940 A. H.,[3] for the benefit of his own son, Rafi'uddīn Husain, as well as other youths in general. It has been lithographed at Lāhore, Delhī, and Lucknow.

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[1] Add. 17955, B.M MSS , foll 79b, and 174a.

[2] Add 23, 560, B.M MSS. foll. 262a—264b

NOTE.—This is only an extract from the preceding work.

[3] The date of its composition is obtained by doubling the total of the numerical value of the letters of its title, as hinted by the author in the following verse .

تکرار کنی چونام اورا یکبار * هک نیسه کدرۂ بری بسال اتمام

[Thus بدایع الانشا=470, which on being doubled (470×2=940) gives the date of its composition.]

He was the son of the famous scholar and poet of Bābur's time Khwāja Abul Barakāt (still alive and patronised by Humāyūn). The father and the son both were capable poets and wrote all kinds of poetry including *'ghazal'* *'masnawī,'* *'rubā'ī,'* and *'qasīda.'* The father used *'Farāqī'* as his pen-name. The following *'qasīda'* which he wrote after the manner and style of Salmān Sāwajī is one of his worthiest productions:

Khwāja Ayyūb.

[1] تپ غم دارم و درد سر هجراں بر سر
آمده جان بلب و نامده جاناں در سر
تا گرفت آتش دل در تن من چون فانوس
دامنم چاك شد و چاك گریباں بر سر

The fever of grief and the headache of separation have I : ov'r head,
To the lip has come life, and the loved hath not come : ov'r head ;
Since the fire of the heart caught light in my body like a candle-lamp,
My skirt was torn, and the rent of the collar appeared : ov'r head.

He combined with the sober poetic vein a considerable amount of humour and also wrote satires, for which he had a pungent gift, on eminent theologians in a graceful and felicitous style. Some of

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 488.

his verses from a pleasantly humorous poem written as a satire upon the Qāzī of Nishāpūr are reproduced below :

[1] خلاف شرع پیمبر نوشت فقه دگر
که هیچ زان نبود در کتابها مسطور
غسل حرام نوشت و شراب کرد حلال
که این عصارهٔ تاکست و آن قی زنبور
زنی که شکوهٔ شوهر به پیش قاضی برد
که حظ نفس من از وی نمیرسد بظهور
جواب داد که گر او قوی ضعیف شد است
روا بود که در آرد بجای خود مزدور

Against the law of the Prophet, he wrote
another law,
Of which naught is found writ in the early
books;
Honey he forbade, and wine he permitted,
Since one was the grape's juice, the other
the bee's vomit ;
To a woman who 'fore the Qāzī of her
husband complained,
That he did not give to her joy complete ;
He replied, "If his strength is so weak,
'Tis allowed in his place a coolie to seek,"

[1] Ibid.

Farishta pays him a high tribute of praise and declares that he came to Deccan after Humāyūn's death.[1]

His son Khwāja Ayyūb, in his poetical composition sometimes uses '*Ayyūb*' and sometimes '*Farāqi*' (the pen-name of his father) as his *nom de guerre.* A specimen of his ode is as follows :

[2] اے شاخ گل کہ ہمچو سہی قد کشیدۂ
در گرد لب خطے ز زمرد کشیدۂ
قدت برآمدہ چو الف مدظلہ
دو ابروان فراز الف مد کشیدۂ
در حرف دیگران زدۂ قرعۂ قبول
بر حرف عاشقان قلم رد کشیدۂ
از دولت وصال فراقي طمع مبر
جور و جفای یار چو بیحد کشیدۂ

O branch of the rose, thou art drawn straight like an erect stature,

[1] Cf. the statement .

خواجہ ابوالبرکات سمرقندي کہ آخر درزمان شاہ طاہر بہ دکن آمدہ بود در فضیلت , ندیمي عدیل و نظیر نداشت ۔

[Farishta, Vol I. p 356]

[2] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p 489.

Round over thy lip thou hast drawn a line of emerald;
Thy stature has come out like *'alif,'* may its shadow increase,
And from thy eyebrows thou hast drawn a *mad'* over that *'alif'*;
Thou hast cast a dice of acceptance on the words of others,
On the words of lovers thou hast drawn the pen of rejection;
O Farāqī, do not despair the boon of his union,
Since thou hast suffered endless tyranny and oppression of the beloved.

Maulānā Muhammad Fāzl

Maulānā Muhammad bin i 'Alī bin i Muhammad *al* Miskīnī *al* Qāzī *as* Samarqandī, a man of considerable learning remained unnoticed by the Mughal historians, author of a distinguished Persian work entitled *'Jawāhir ul'Ulūm'* (or the pearls of Sciences) not published. It is a voluminous work covering 814 foll. (1,628 pages), of large foolscap size, closely written in neat elegant Arabic character. It is divided into several chapters and subdivisions, and treats of one hundred and twenty different subjects which are discussed under those headings with admirable brevity and simpleness of style. Some discussions are on history, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, logic, philosophy, ethics, and Muslim jurisprudence. The copyist is one Nūr Muhammad's son, 'Abdurrahmān of Lāhore. The date of compilation is contained in its very name

which is inserted both in the Introduction and at the end, and works out into 946 A.H[1]. The work is called 'Humāyūnī' after the name of the emperor, to whom, as it appears from the Preface, this copy was formally presented. The author also incidentally hints at several works of his prior to this one, and says as a reason for writing this book, that from his very boyhood till his mature age, he was busy in acquiring knowledge under the best teachers of the age, and having studied some rare works like '*Nafā'is ul Funūn fī 'Arā'is ul 'Uyūn*,' '*Sittīn ul Āsār*,' and '*Hadā'iq ul Anwār*,' he thought of putting together their contents as well as those of his previous works, in a smaller compilation. The work is therefore a sort of Encyclopedia which is a singular undertaking in that age and stands by itself.

The title page bears the seals of Shāh Jahān, Sulaimān Jāh, Sultān 'Ālam, and Shāh 'Ālam, with several autographs of the librarians and private owners. These, with the inscription of Sulaimān Jāh's seal[2], suggest that the book remained in the

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[1] Cf the title and its working :

كتيب 20+400+10+2 . . . =432
جواهر 3 + 6 +1 + 5+200 . . .. =215
العلوم 1 +30 +70+30+6 +40... . =177
همايوني 5 +40 +1 +10+6 +n50+10=122

كتيب جواهرالعلوم همايونى Total 946 A H.

[2] Cf. the inscription in verse

خوش است مهر كتبخانهٔ سليمان جاه
بهر كتاب مزين چو نقش بسم الله

libraries of the kings of Delhī and Oudh. Since the work is of peculiar interest, it would be of some value for a student of literary history to observe the style of its language, and the tone of the author's Preface and his address to the king, together with the subjects discussed, which in those days formed the main basis of learning and considered important from a scholar's standpoint.

The first 3 folios are reproduced from the original as follows : fol. 1 b.

کتاب جواهرالعلوم

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

و تمم بالخیر

فاضلترین منظومات جواهر علوم و بضعمات مصنفات
فاضل و کاملترین منثورات نوادر رسوم و تالیفات مؤلفان
کامل که چهرهٔ فصاحت شعار نوعروسان نفایس فنون
معقوله و جبههٔ بلاغت دثار زیبایان عرایس عیون منقوله
را بزیور فضیلت و برینت کرامت مزین و محلی سازند
بدایع حمد و سپاس و صنایع مدح بے قیاس حضرت
پادشاهی است که نظام اُمور عالم و انتظام مهام
بنی آدم بوجود فایض الجود پادشاهان همایون اثر و
شهریاران شریعت پرور منوط و مربوط ساخته و علم
ترویج امور شرع متین و لواء تنسیق مهام دین را باوج
سپهر برین برافراخته نظم
ز اوج آسمان تا مرکز خاک * خدائے نیست غیر از ایزد پاک

و صحایف لطایف صلوات و شرایف وظایف تسلیمات
تحفهٔ روضهٔ آن خلاصهٔ مجموعهٔ کاینات و زبدهٔ نسخهٔ
موجودات که ینابیع علوم جمیع علما از بحر محیط
دانش او قطره ایست و مصابیح معارف جمیع فضلا
از مشارق آفتاب معرفتش ذرهٔ **نظم**

مقتدای انبیا سلطان دارالملك دین

سید اولاد آدم رحمة للعالمین

و بر آل و اصحاب و احباب که ارکان دولت و دین
واعیان حضرت **سیدالمرسلین** اند صلی الله علیه
و علی آله الی هادین و خلفایهٔ الراشدین و اصحابه
اجمعین **اما بعد** چنین گوید بندهٔ فقیر و ذرهٔ
حقیر الراجي من الله الحاکم الابدي محمد فاضل بن
علي بن محمد المسکیني القاضي السمرقندي غفرالله
ذنوبه و ستر عیوبه که از ایام صبا تا مقام انتها
در تحصیل فضایل و کمالات مي‌بود و از روایح نفایس
علماء زمان و فوایح مجالس فضلاء دوران حظي تمام
استشمام مي‌نمود و بعد از فراغ مطالعه نفایس الفنون
في‌عرایس العیون و ستین الاثار و حدایق الانوار
و بعضي از فواید شریفهٔ فضلاء فصاحت شعار این عزم
جزم گشت که خلاصهٔ الفاظ جواهر آبدار و زبدهٔ مفاخر
معاني ابکار آنها را مع نقود فواخر اخبار و خزف ریزهٔ
چند بی مقدار که ازین خاکسار سمت اشتهار دارد بقید

خامهٔ نوادر نگار آورده تحفهٔ زیبا **مشتمل برصد و بیست**
علم ترتیب دهد و موضوع هر یک را بزبان فارسي
بوسبیل اختصار باحسن نظام و انسب ترتیب انتظام نماید
بروجهي که مفید خاص و عام و مستحسن جمیع طوایف
انام باشد چون روی امید به کرم کریم حاوید کرد و ذریعهٔ
افتقار و انکسار بمیان آورد لاجرم از مبداء فیاض علي
الاطلاق باوجود عدم استحقاق باتمام آن امر عظیم مشرف
شد و بانجام آن شغل جسیم مستسعد گشت و آنرا بجواهر
العلوم همایوني موسوم گردانید و عنوانات متنوعهٔ آنرا

بمقدمه و سه مقاله خاتمت سمت انتظام

و صفت اختتام داد وخلعت بي بضاعتش را بطراز مدح
حضرت صاحبقران مطرز و ذات منقصت سماتش را بتشریف
(fol. 2a) ثناے حضرت سلیماني معزز گردانید که ظاهر
خجسته مآثرش مورد آثار فیوضات الهي است و باطن
فرخنده میامنش مهبط انوار الهامات نامتناهي – طبع
لطیفش عارف معارف جمیع فضایل و کمالات وذهن شریفش
واقف مواقف جمیع معقولات و منقولات - همگي همت عالي
نهمتش برتقویم قوایم ملت غرا و تشئید دعایم شریعت
بیضا مقصود است و تمامي اوقات خجسته ساعتش
به مراقبهٔ حال مشایخ بزرگوار و تمشیت مهام سادات
عالیمقدار و رعایت علماء اعلام و تقویت امور قضاة اسلام
عصور اعلي جم جاه سلیمان دستگاه سکندر جناب آسمان

قباب جمشيد مقام خورشيد جسام فريدون فر گردون مقرّ
انجم حشم کواکب خدم مهرمکان سپهر مکين ملايك نشان
ارايك نشين صبح سيماى آفتاب راي ستارة درم دريا کرم
ناظم مناظم سرافرازی مقوي ارکان ملت حجازی معزالسلطنة

و الخلافة محمد همايون پادشاه الغازی خلد الله تعالی سرير سلطنت علی الفلک الرابع وبسط بساط مملکت الی الاقليم السابع

اميدواری بکمال کرم کردگاری آنکه مستعدان مجلس اشرف اعلي ارقام اين اوراق افادت ادعام را بشرف قبول مشرف سازند و سطور اين اجزاي بلاغت فرجام را منظور نظر اعتبار گردانيده بر زلات مکسور اللسان بيندازند- **نظم**

خداوندا چو از محضِ عنايت
بالطافی که آنرا نيست غايت
کرم کردي بمن توفيق تاليف
مرا دادي تو استعداد تصنيف
که تصنيف مرا مقبول گردان
بنزد نسخه سنجانِ سخن دان
بروی من درے از فضل بکشا
خطاهاے قلم را عفو فرما

مقدمه منقسم است بسه قسم - قسم اول

دربیان شرف علوم و فضیلت علما - هرچند اثبات این دعوی و تحقیق این معنی احتیاج بحجت وبرهان وحاجت بدلایل و بیان ندارد زیرا که جمیع طوایف امم وعموم افراد بني آدم بشرف سعادات علم معترف اند و بعدم تحصیل کمالات متاسف اما تیمناً و تبرکاً بعضي از آنچه در کتب سماوي مذکور است و از احادیث نبوی مشهور و از ارباب نفوس قدسي مذکور گشته علی سبیل الاجمال

مسطور میگردد انچه در قرآن مجید و فرقان حمید مسطور است

قال الله تعالی هَلْ يَسْتَوِي الَّذِينَ يَعْلَمُونَ وَالَّذِينَ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ* چه نفی استوا میان ایشان بواسطهٔ شرف علم و نقصان جهل است وَعَلَّمَكَ مَالَمْ تَكُنْ تَعْلَم وَ كَانَ فَضْلُ اللّٰهِ عَلَيْكَ عَظِيماً* حضرت عزت باوجود چندین هزار الطاف و اعطاف که نسبت بحضرت رسالت عنایت فرموده بهیچ چیزے بروي منت ننهاده الایعلم اَطِيعُوا اللّٰهَ وَ اَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَ اُولِي الْاَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ* اکثر مفسران برین اند که مراد از اولی الامر درین مقام عالمانند يَرْفَعِ اللّٰهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُو مِنْكُم وَالَّذِينَ اُوتُوا الْعِلْمَ دَرَجَاتٍ* چه اول بلند گردانیده درجهٔ مومنان

را و بعد ازاں فرمود که درجات مر اهل علم راست و ازیں
جا لازم آید که درجات اهل علم از درجات دیگران بیشتر
بود و انچه در انجیل مذکور است از مقا تا بن سلیمان
منقول است **که حق تعالی فرموده است** که یاَ
عِیْسی عَظِّمِ العُلَمَاءَ وَاَعْرِفْ فَضْلَهُمْ فَاِنِّي فَضَّلْتُهُمْ عَلٰی
جَمِیْعِ خَلْقِي اِلا النَبِیِّیْنَ وَالْمُرْسَلِیْن کَفَضْلِ الشَّمْسِ عَلَی
الْکَوَاکِبِ وَکَفَضْلِ الْاٰخِرَةِ عَلَیِ الدُّنْیَا وَ کَفَضْلِی عَلٰی
کُلِّ شَیٍّ* یعني یا عیسی تعظیم کن تو علما را و
بشناس فضیلت ایشاں را بتحقیق که من ترجیح
کرده‌ام ایشانرا بر جمیع خلق خود مگر انبیا و
پیغمبراں مرسل و فضل ایشاں مثل فضل و شرف
آفتابست بر کواکب و مثل فضل و شرف آخرت است بر
دنیا و مثل فضل و شرف من است در تمام مخلوقات—

و انچه در احادیث مذکور است' قال
علیه السلام الناس عالم او متعلم و سائر النا س
کالهمج لا خیر فیهم* یعني مراد از انسان یا عالم است
یا متعلم و باقي مردماں چوں مگسانند که در ایشان
نیکوئي نیست—**و قوله علیه السلام** اقرب الناس
من درجة النبوة (fol. 2b) اهل العلم و الجهاد* یعني از
مردماں نزدیکتر بدرجۀ نبوت اهل علم و اهل جهاد اند

و قوله عليه السلام فصل العالم على العابد كفضلى على ادنى كم مردةً - عالم بر عابد چون مردة منست بر ادناى شما — **قوله عليه السلام** يشفع يوم القيامة ثلثة الانبياء ثم العلماء ثم الشهداء - يعني در روز قيامت خلق راسه طايفه شفاعت كننده باشند انبيا و علماء و شهدا **و قوله عليه السلام** مَنْ صَلّٰى خَلْفَ عَالِمٍ مِنَ الْعُلَمَاءِ فَكَأَنَّهُ صَلّٰى خَلْفَ نَبِيٍّ مِنَ الْاَنْبِيَاءِ * يعني هر كه نماز گذارد در عقب عالمے از علما گويا نماز گذارده است در عقب پيغمبرے از پيغمبران **قال عليه السلام** افضل العلوم مايحتاج الناس اليه * يعني افضل علوم آن علم است كه احتياج مردمان بدان بيشتر بود -

در نوادرالفتاوى آورده كه پيغامبر فرموده صلى الله عليه وسلم هر عالمے كه بندهٔ مومنے را علم بياموزد حق سبحانه و تعالى در روز قيامت هزار قلادة از نور در گردن او كند و بفرمايد فرشتگان را تا بنويسند از براے او بعدد هر موئے كه بر تن او بود ثواب حج اكبر و هر كه يك باب از علم بياموزد اگرچه يك حديث باشد حق تعالى ثواب هفتاد پيغمبران باو ارزاني دارد و هركه يك باب از علم بشنود چنان باشد كه بندهٔ را كه قيمت آن هزار دينار است آزاد كرده باشد

و در خبر است هر که در راه طلب علم غبارے بر قدم او نشیند حق تعالی بدن او را از آتش دوزخ نگاه دارد **و نیز آمده است** که حق سبحانه و تعالی کوهے آفریده است بمقدار دنیا و فرداے قیامت چهل بار در ترازوے نهاده شود کسے که جهت علم روزی بزانوے ادب پیش عالمے نشسته باشد و نیز **در خبر است** که هر که یك روز در طلب علم گذارد نزدیك حق تعالی بهتر باشد از عبادت هزار ساله و در **نوادر الفتاوی آورده است** که هر که یك درم در طلب علم صرف کند چنان باشد که مقدار کوه ابوقبیس زر در راه حق تعالی صرف نموده باشد **قسم دوم**

در بیان تعریف و تقسیم جمیع افراد علوم معقوله و توصیف تمامی انواع فنون معقوله – بدان که علم بحسب اشتراك لفظي بچند معنی مستعمل است گاهے بمعني صفتے بود که موجب تمیز گردد و بدین معنی علم از قبیل مقوله کیف باشد و گاهے بمعني مصدری و بمعني عالمیت آید و برین تقدیر از قبیل مقوله مضاف بود و گاهے بمعني حصول صورت چیزے در عقل آید و باین اعتبار از مقوله انفعال باشد و گاهے بمعني اعتقاد جازم مطابق ثابت و گاهے بمعني حکم بوقوع نسبت و برین دو تقدیر از مقوله فعل است و گاهے بر چند تصدیقے اطلاق نمایند از مسایل که

راجع باشند آنها بسوے موضوع واحد **چون علم فقه و علم طب و علم نحو** و امثال آن و این را صناعت نامند و علم بمعني صناعت دو نوع است **حکمت و ادب** حکمت آنست که نسبت او بجمیع ازمنه و جمیع اقوام علی‌السویه باشد چون علم الهی و علم هیئة - و ادب آنست که به بعضے از اقوام و از منه مخصوص باشد چون علم نحو و صرف که مبني بر قوانین عربیه است نه بر قوانین اهل فرس و علم حکمت دو نوع است' حکمت عملي و حکمت نظری - و حکمت نظری عبارتست از دانستن چیزها چنانچه باید و حکمت عملي بفعل آوردن چیزهاست چنانچه شاید بقدر طاقت بشری - حکمت نظری سه قسم است اعلی و اوسط و اسفل و این سه قسم مشتمل بر چهارده علم است چنانچه هر یك مذکور میشود **اول علم اعلی** که موضوع او در خارج و ذهن بغیر ماده است چون معرفت اله و عقول و نفوس و وحدت و کثرت و مانند آن و اصول این علم در دوقسم است معرفت اله و مبادي مخلوقات از عقول و نفوس و این قسم اول را علم الهي یعني الهیات خوانند و معرفت امور عامه چون معرفت وجود و حدوث و قدوم و امثال آن و این قسم دوم را علم فلاسفهٔ اولی نامند **دوم علم اوسط** یعني علم ریاضي (fol. 3a, begins on page 89)

که موضوع او در ذهن ماده ندارد و درخارج بےماده نبود
چون اشکال و دوایر و اعداد و امثال آن و اصول این علم بر
چهار قسم است هندسه که عبارت است از معرفت مقادیر
واشکال وخط تعلیمي و لواحق آن و علم هیئت که عبارت
است از معرفت اوضاع اجرام علوی یا اجرام سفلي و علم
تالیف که عبارت است از دانستن تالیفات چون تالیف
نغمات وحرکات واین علم را موسیقي خوانند و علم تالیف
الفاظ مطلق از عربي و فارسی که مخصوص قومي وزماني نباشد
سیوم علم اسفل یعني علم طبیعي که موضوع او در
خارج و ذهن ماده دارد چون انسان و حیوان ومانند ان
واصول این علم بر هشت قسم است معرفت مبادی
متغیرات چون هیولي و صورت وزمان ومکان وسکون وحرکت
وامثال آنرا علم اسماء طبیعي نامند و معرفت اجسام بسیطه
ومرکبه و معرفت احکام بسائط علوي وسفلي چون افلاك
و کواکب و عناصر وامثال آنرا علم اسماء عالم گویند که
افتتاح این نسخهٔ شریفه بآنها خواهد بود معرفت ارکان
و تبدل و استحاله و نظایر آنرا مثل علم کیمیاگري از
تصعید وتکلیس و حل و عقد و عمل اکسیر و مثل آنکه
آب بسته شود و سنگ بگدازد و آب گردد و آتش هوا
شود آنرا علم کون وفساد نامند و معرفت اسباب حوادث
هوائي چون برق و رعد وصاعقه و هاله وباران و زلزله و امثال
آنرا علم آثار علوی خوانند و معرفت مرکبات و کیفیت
ترکیبات جواهر واجساد وکبریت و سیماب و مانند آن را

علم معادن گویند و معرفت اجسام نامیه و قوای آن چون
کیفیت محکمي بیخ ها در زمین و برآمدن قوایم آن
درهوا و درازی و کوتاهي و کجي و راستي شاخهاي و صورت
برگها و کیفیات حبوب از نشو و نما و مانند آن را علم
نباتات خوانند و معرفت احوال اجسام متحرکه بحرکت
اراضي ومبادی حرکات وقواي ایشان چون معرفت وحوش
و طیور وکیفیت اعصاب و اوردهٔ وشرائین و اختلاف صور
و حیوانات و منافرت طبایع وامزجه ومباینت اخلاق وافعال
و توابع آنرا علم حیوانات نامند و معرفت احوال
نفس ناطقهٔ انساني وچگونگی تدبیر و تصرف چون
کیفیت روح و بودن او داخل در بدن یا خارج یا محیط به بدن
یا عین یا عرض یا جوهر یا جسم و امثال آنرا علم نفس
نفوس خوانند حکمت عملي چهار قسم است
حکمت خلقی یعني علم اخلاق که باصلاح
هر شخص تعلق دارد حکمت منزلی یعني علم معاش
حکمت مجلسي یعنی علم مجالس و محاضر و
حکمت بدنی یعني علم آداب ملوك و این چهار
قسم مشتمل بر چهارده علم است و علم ادب نیز مشتمل
است برچهارده علم و علم مناظره و علم منطق
را نیز داخل ادبیات داشته‌اند چنانچه مذکور
خواهد شد—علم دین دو نوع است، علم احکام

دین و علم حجج متین - علم احکام دین دو نوع
است - علم احکام عملیه و علم احکام اعتقادیه—علم
احکام عملیه یا بظاهر تعلق دارد یا بباطن - علم احکامیه
که تعلق بظاهر دارد علم فقه است و علم احکام عملیه
که تعلق بباطن داره علم تصوف است و علم احکام
اعتقادیه اگر موافق قوانین شریعت غرا باشد علم کلام
است و علم حجج سه نوع است علم تفسیر و علم حدیث
و علم اصول فقه و اسامي فروع هر یك از علوم دیني
و حکمی و ادبی نه تمام در فهرست این نسخهٔ سعادت
انجام مذکور است و مسطور والله اعلم بحقایق الامور
قسم سوم از مقدمة در بیان تعداد ابواب و فهرست
این کتاب چون از فیض کرم عمیم الهي و فضل نعم جسیم
نامتناهي این بندهٔ ضعیف بتدوین و تالیف این رموز
کنوز علوم و آداب و تصنیف فنون اهل فضل و خطاب
اعني مجموعهٔ کمالات انسانی و نسخهٔ سعادات اهل معانی
مشرف شد عنوانات متنوعهٔ آنرا بر طبق منظومات
مسطوره بشرف نظام خجسته فرجام منتظم گردانید
و مقالات متعدده انرا بر وقف این مرقومات مذکوره
بسعادت اتمام فرخنده انجام رسانید **تعداد قسم
اول از مقاله اولی از کتاب** fol. 3 b
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باب ۳ در علم شعر **باب ۴** در علم قافیه **باب ۵**

در علم عروض **باب ٦** در علم معمّاً و حل معمّیات
امیر حسین و بیان نغز **باب ٧** در علم بدایع و صنایع
شعري و اظهار مضمر **باب ٨** در علم لطایف و مطایبات
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و استعارات **باب ١٠** در علم لغت و بیان واضع آن
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تعداد قسم دوم از مقالهٔ اولی از کتاب جواهر العلوم

باب ١ در علم قصص الانبیا **باب ٢** در معرفت
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در معرفت مسالك و ممالك عالم **باب ۱۰** در علم
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در علم حروف باب ۱۳ در علم جفر جامع
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مساحت و جر اثقال و بیان مبصرات باب ۲۴ در
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و علم شانه و طالع مسلہ و معرفت تفال و تطیر و امثال
آن باب ۲۸ در معرفت طالع موالید و زایچه طالع
باب ۲۹ در معرفت اشکال اقلیدس باب ۳۰
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در علم دم و وهم که حکماء هند دریں علم کتب
معتبرہ تصنیف نموده اند باب ۳۳ در علم

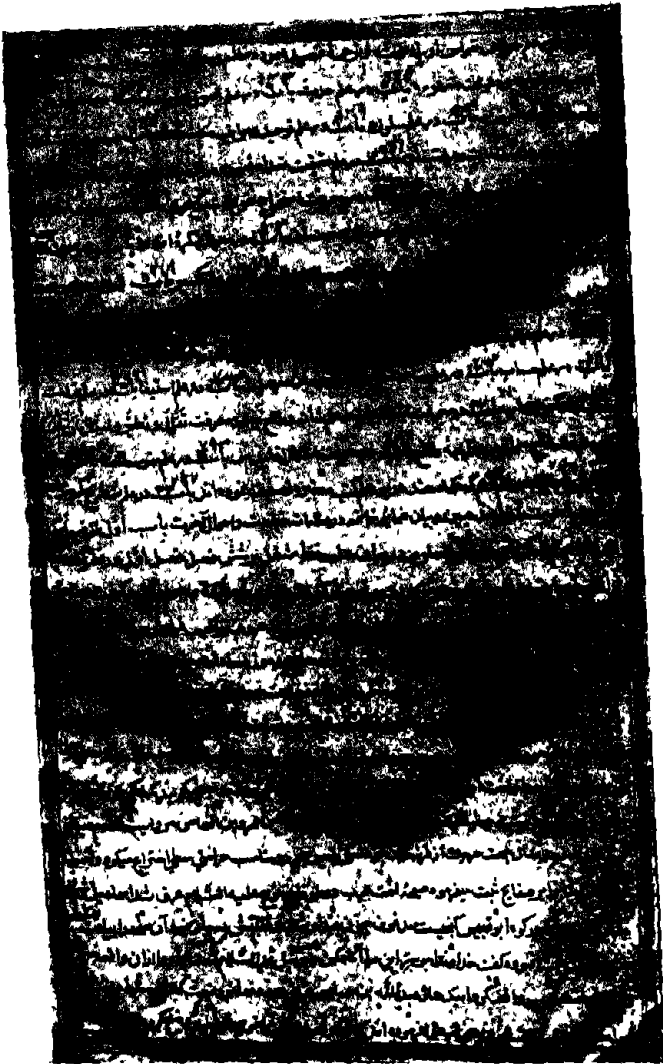
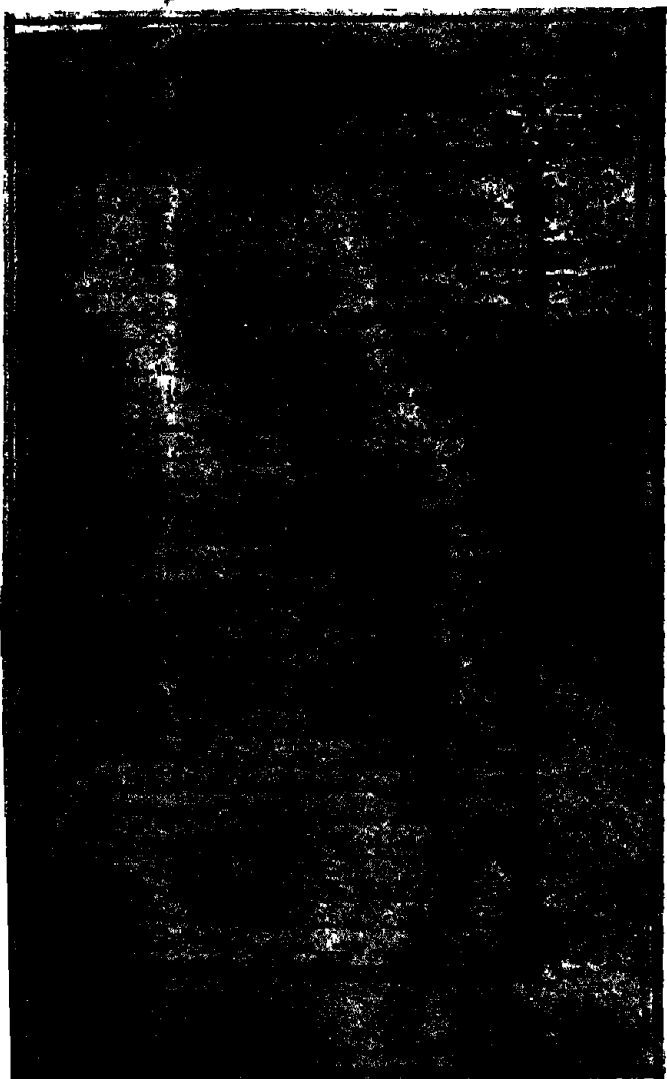
شطرنج کبیر و صغیر و حلیت و حرمت آنها بمذهبین و بیان ضمایر خاتمه در علامات قیامت و احوال آخرت -

باب اول از قسم اول از مقالۀ اولی از کتاب جواهر العلوم - دربیان علم خط مشتمل بر شش فصل - فصل اول در تعریف خط بدانکه خط عبارتست از معرفت تصویر کلمات و تحریر ترکیبات از حروف مفردہ و اصول تهجي و کیفیت صنایع و اوصاف آں باعتبار صنعت کتابت و صفت خطي و ایں صنعتیست که حروف تراکیب غرایش مفاتیح کنوز مرادات در جهاني است.........الخ

In the abovequoted preface of the author several points are of special interest, of which the following deserve notice :

1. The work was the greatest and most important literary undertaking in Humāyūn's reign.
2. The author's idea of writing an Encyclopædia in that age, with the object of presenting it to a Mughal emperor in India, and not to any other Eastern monarch of a neighbouring country, is significant, and throws ample light on the literary taste of, and patronage shown by, the Mughal rulers.
3. The then prevailing system of writing chapters and headings in red ink, with

FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE PAGE OF
" JAWĀHIR UL 'ULŪM HUMĀYŪNĪ."
[*Author's family possession*]

FACSIMILE OF FOLIO 1B.

FACSIMILE OF FOLIO 3B.

Facsimile of folio 813b.
[*Last page of MS*]

the number of page indicated on the top of each in black ink, is somewhat peculiar, though at the same time very simple (*vide* facs. of fol. 3b).

4. The exceptional command and patience of a copyist to write out such a voluminous work in absolutely one hand and one style from the beginning to the end, with distinctive accuracy, elegance, and neatness, is an important feature of the time, and shows the height of excellence achieved in the art of calligraphy. Also, their mode of crossing and correcting mistakes by enclosing the rejected portion with ز inserted in the beginning, and الى at the end, is indicated in facs. fol. 1b.

5. The subjects discussed in the work, constituted علوم متداوله (current sciences), which were commonly taught in the educational institutions in those days, and formed the main basis of learning.

6. Arabic characters were generally employed in writing books of Persian language, and specially in literary and scientific books. Even the poetical works of standard poets were all written in *naskh* (Arabic characters); while Persian characters (*nasta'liq*) were more commonly used in works of less important character, and light literature such as State documents, foreign correspondence, *firmāns*, and official and private letters.

The reason of composition is given by the author in the following words :

[1] و در همه حالات و جمیع اوقات بخدمات حضور
قیام مینموده پس بخاطر این خطور کرد که تیمناً و
تبرکاً حالات و معاملات را بطریق یادداشت بقدر
فراست خود.....تذکره نماید

> And in all circumstances and at all times he had stayed in the service of his Majesty; so it occurred to his mind that he should record, as a memorandum and a boon and a blessing, the events and anecdotes, according to his own intellectual capacity.

He entered Humāyūn's service as an ewer-bearer at a very young age, and attended him faithfully during his reverses and flight from Hindūstān. Though not a very learned man, he is the author of a very important work which is of special historical value as being a faithful and unbroken record of Humāyūn's private life during his exile. It was undertaken long after Humāyūn's death in the year 995 A.H.[2]

Jauhar.

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[1] Ibid., fol. 2a.

[2] Tazkirat ul Wāqi'āt, B.M MSS. Add. 16, 711, fol. 2b. A copy of this work (inferior to the B.M Codex) is also in the I.O. Library.

For a critical estimate of Jauhar see Raverty's article in the J. R. A. S.

A summary of its contents is given below:

I. Humāyūn's fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī, and the conquest of Gujarāt.

II. His contests with Shēr Shāh, and temporary victory and occupation of Bengāl.

III. Subsequent attack by Shēr Shāh and Humāyūn's defeat; his pluck while crossing the river; help given by a water-carrier who was afterwards made to sit on the royal throne at Āgra for half a day (*du sā'at*),[1] in reward for his signal service.

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[1] A "*sā'at*" ساعت should not be understood in the strict sense of an hour. The day was then divided, as it is now, into four '*sā'at*' or '*gharī*' (also known as '*pās*' or '*pahr*.)' Gulbadan Begam calls these divisions by the last name. Cf.—

تا سه پهر شب مجلس بود .....بعد از سه پهر حضرت آسایش فرمودند

[Humāyūn Nāma, p. 87.]

These divisions of time were essentially Indian and had puzzled Bābur greatly. The above statement that the day was divided into four '*sā'at*' is supported by Farishta also, who, in this instance, interprets '*du sa'at*' into half a day. Cf.—

وعده فرمود که پادشاهی نیمروز را بعد از رسیدن باگره بتو ارزانی دارم چنانچه همان قسم بعمل آمد

[Farishta, Vol. I, p. 407.]

It may however be noted that Gulbadan Begam differs from both Jauhar and Farishta, and declares that the menial sat on the throne for two days. Cf.—

تا دو روز بلی قلم پادشاهی دادند

[Humāyūn Nāma, p. 44].

'*sā'at*' also means a watch.

IV. Humāyūn's further reverses due to the hostile attitude of his brothers.

V. His flight to Persia; reception by Shāh Tahmāsp; the latter's evil designs against Humāyūn, and their aversion through the timely intervention of Bahrām Mīrzā's sister; help given to Humāyūn by the Shāh; conquest of Cābul; recruitment of soldiers for the attack on Hindūstān; death of Shēr Shāh; Humāyūn's entry into Āgra.

VI. His last days and death by an accidental fall from the staircase of his palace at Delhī.

The style is generally simple and unadorned though at places he has, in conformity with the practice of the times, indulged into rhetorical expressions, probably to make a display of his knowledge, and inserted various quotations from the Qur'ān and the works of Persian poets.

Like Jauhar, he too was in the retinue of Humāyūn during the latter's flight from Hindūstān, and wrote a work entitled '*Tārīkh i Humāyūn*' at the request of Akbar. The author's own version as to this undertaking is as follows:

Bā Yazīd.

چون[1] جم جاه جلال‌الدین محمد اکبر پادشاه
فرمودند از بندهاے درگاه هریك را كه سلیقه تاریخ

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[1] Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I. O., MSS., 223, fol. 1b.

باشد نویسند بلکه از ایام سلطنت حضرت جنت آشیانی
همایون پادشاه اگر کسی را در خاطر چیزے مانده
باشد دران درج نمایند و بنام نامی ما تمام سازند و این
پروانه را نواب شیخ المشایخ شیخ ابوالفضل ولد
شیخ مبارك به بایزید بے بضاعت رسانید -

> Since Jalāluddīn Muhammad Akbar Pādishāh of Jamshīd's dignity said, "Every one from among the servants of the court who possess an aptitude for history may write it, nay, from the reign of Humāyūn Pādishāh, if any one has any events in his recollection, they (he) may insert them therein (history), and conclude it in my Majesty's name." And this royal mandate was conveyed to humble Bā Yazīd by Nawāb *Shaikh ul Mashā'ikh* Shaikh Abul Fazl, son of Shaikh Mubārak.

The work is almost similar to Jauhar's in diction and style and is full of many interesting incidents of Humāyūn's and Akbar's private lives. It was undertaken at Lāhore in the year 999 A.H., when the author was feeling the infirmity of old age.[1] A most important piece of information contained in the work is the list of scholars and sundry notable officers who accompanied Humāyūn from

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[1] Cf. the statement:

و چون ایام جوانی گذشته و ایام پیری درآمده بوده و حافظه را قوت
چندانی نمانده...الخ [Ibid.]

Persia, Cābul, and other territories, on his way back to Hindūstān.[1]

His real name was Shaikh Nizām. He entered Humāyūn's service on his second entry into Hindūstān.

Maulānā Zamīrī Bilgrāmī.

He is said to be an excellent poet of Humāyūn's court, and wrote several '*masnawīs*' and '*qasā'id*' of which some he dedicated to the emperor. He died at an advanced age in 1003 A.H., and the chronogram of his death was found by one Nawāb Mubārak Khān of Delhī in the words' آه آه نظام ' (*āh āh Nizām*). It is a happy coincidence that a poet of the same name also lived at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī, and was reckoned among the leading poets of his day. Besides his numerous '*qasā'id*' in praise of the Shāh, a custom which very curiously prevailed both in India and Persia, and was a common feature of the two courts, he wrote several '*masnawīs*' of which the following were well-known :

(*i*) *Wāmiq wa'azrā.*
(*ii*) *Nāz wa Niyāz.*
(*iii*) *Afsāna i Bahār wa Khizān.*
(*iv*) *Lailā wa Majnūn* (also called "*sar guzasht i Majnūn*").
(*v*) *Jannat ul Akhyār.*
(*vi*) *Sikandar Nāma.*

He also left two '*dīwāns*' entitled '*sahā'if i 'amal*' and '*Iqd i la'ālī,*' consisting mostly of '*qasā'id*' in praise of the Shāh; and '*ghazal*' and '*rubā'ī*' in

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[1] Ibid., fols. 72b—76a.

praise of his beloved, and on the transitoriness of this world and its vanities. He died in Persia thirty years before his namesake in India.

Khwāja Husain Mervī.

He was a descendant of Shaikh Ruknuddīn 'Alā'uddaula Samnānī, and a pupil of Maulānā 'Isāmuddīn in logic and philosophy, and of the famous Traditionalist Shaikh Ibn i Hajar II, in traditions and theology. As a poet of Persian language he compiled a '*dīwān*,' and is mentioned by Abul Fazl and Badāūnī (both of whom derived their material from *Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir*) as one of the poets of Akbar's reign. Bā Yazīd, however, mentions the Khwāja under Humāyūn, as one of his constant associates.[1] Some specimens of his poetry, which is full of subtleties peculiar to India, are as follows :

[2]اے از مژہ بےتو آب رفتہ
و ز دیدہ خیال و خواب رفتہ

O thou, without thee, from my eye-lash the water flowed,

And from the eye, the thought and the sleep departed.

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[1] *Vide* the list of scholars who accompanied Humāyūn on his second entry into Hindūstān [Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I.O., MSS, fol.74a] Also cf fol 27b :—

میر عبدالغنی و خواجہ حسین مروی و خواجہ ایوب و ابوالبرکہ
این جماعہ کہ اهل نشست بودند...الخ

[2] Badāūnī, Vol III, p. 177.

[1] خودرا بما چنانکه نبودي نمودۀ
افسوس آنچنانکه نمودی نبودۀ

Thou hast shown thyself to us in the form
that was not thine,
Alas, the manner in which thou hast shown
thyself thou wast not.

[2] باما گره چو غنچه در ابرو فگندۀ
با غیر لب چو پستۀ خندان کشودۀ

*In association with us thou hast cast a knot,
like a bud, in thy eye-brow,*
In company with others thou hast opened the
lip like a smiling pistachio.

[3] آنم که ممالك سخن ملك من است
صراف خرد صیرفي سلك من است
دیباچۀ کن ز دفتر من ورقیست
اسرار دو کون در سر کلك من است

I am such that the dominion of speech is my
property,
The banker of Wisdom is the tester of my
string of pearls ;
The preface of *Existence* is a leaf from my
book,
The secrets of both the worlds are on the
point of my pen.

He wrote a versified translation of the famous Hindi work '*Sanghāsan Battisi*' entrusted to his care

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[1] Ibid
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

by Akbar. It remained unfinished when he left India in 980 A.H., for Cābul, where he died soon after. His poetic powers and erudition may well be judged by the fact that Faizī was his pupil and was brought up and trained by him. When the Khwāja took leave for Cābul, Faizī found the date of this event in the words 'دام ظله' which are used for no less respectable a person than one's father or guardian. One of his marvellous compositions is a '*qasīda*' which he wrote and presented to Akbar on the occasion of Jahāngīr's birth in 977 A.H. It was considered as a masterpiece of surpassing skill ever designed by any one before him. The author himself seemed proud of its production, and challenged his colleagues (in the 13th verse) saying that no one from among the court poets could bring as a present anything better than that. It is so arranged throughout that the first hemistich of every line gives the year of Akbar's accession to the throne, while the second does that of Jahāngīr's birth. This shows the progress made in the art of chronogram so ardently taken up under the Mughal patronage:

[1] للہ الحمد از پے جاہ و جلال شہر یار
گوہر مجد از محیط عدل آمد در کنار

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[1] Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 348

NOTE —The same with a high tribute of praise has been produced by Jahāngīr, with slight variants, in his Tuzuk, p 3, ' Alīgarh, 1864. Cf. his remark

اما خواجه حسین مروی از قدرت طبع وحدت فهم قصیدۂ گفته که کارنامه سخنوران توان دانست

طائرے از آشیاں جاہ و جود آمد فرود
کوکبے از اوج عز و ناز گردید آشکار
گلبنے اینگونہ ننمودند بر دور چمن
لالۂ زینگونہ نکشود از میان لالہ زار
شاہ شد دلہا کہ باراز آسمان عدل وداد
باز دنیا زندہ شد کز مہر ایام بہار
آں ہلال‌درج قدر وجود و جاہ آمد بروں
واں نہال آرزوے جان شاہ آمد ببار
شاہ اقلیم وفا سلطان ایوان صفا
شمع جمع بیدلان کام دل امیدوار
عادل کامل محمد اکبر صاحبقران
پادشاہ نامدار کام جوے و کامگار
کامل داناے قابل اعدل شاہان دہر
عادل اعلاے عاقل بیعدیل روزگار
سایۂ لطف الہ آں لایق تاج و نگیں
پادشاہ دین پناہ اں عادل عالم مدار
مجلس ویرا سماء چار مین داں عود سوز
موکب ویرا سماک رامح آمد نیزہ دار
نیر برج وجودے گوہر دریاے جود
از ہواے اوج دلہا شاہ باز و جاں شکار
پادشاہا سلک لولوے نفیس آوردہ ام
ہدیۂ کان گرامی باز جویان گوشدار

کس نیارد هدیهٔ زین به اگر دارد کسے
هر که آرد گو بیا چیزے که دارد گو بیار
مصرع اول زوے سال جلوس پادشاہ
از دویم مولود نور دیدهٔ عالم برآر
تا بود باقی حساب روزهاے ماه سال
واں حساب از سال و ماه و روز دوراں پایدار
شاه ما پاینده باد و باقی آں شهزاده هم
روزهاے بیحساب و سالهاے بیشمار

The work is different from Khwāndāmīr's Humāyūn Nāma, already noticed under Bābur. It was not written during Humāyūn's lifetime, but after his death by an unknown poet of his or his successor's court This is evident from the fact that Humāyūn is nowhere mentioned by name but by his posthumous title '*jannat āshyanī*' while Akbar is mentioned as the ruling monarch. It is written after the style and metre of Firdausī's *Shāh Nāma* commencing with the verse:

An unknown poet, author of an epic poem, *Humāyūn Nāma.*

[1]شبے خاطرم بود فارغ ز خواب
دل از نور اشراق شد کامیاب

Eight folios in the beginning and many at the end after 65b are missing. The author has attempted to follow Firdausī closely and to identify himself with him in the subject-matter. This is

[1] Or. 1797, B.M. MSS., fol. 9a.

perhaps the first instance in the literary history of the Mughals in India that the idea of writing an epic poem on the lines of Firdausī's *Shāh Nāma* and to idolise his hero, struck to a poet of Humāyūn's court. It is a valuable historical narrative of Humāyūn's and his predecessors' battles and conquests which are described in a language sufficiently worthy of the theme A summary of its contents is as follows:

I. Timūr's successors up to Humāyūn.

II. Bābur's expedition to India, and his victory over Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi at Pānīpat.

III. Bābur's illness. News carried to Humāyūn and his hurrying to Āgra. Bābur's declaration of his successor in Humāyūn, and his death.

IV. Humāyūn's coronation followed by a general feast. Great rejoicing in the country. Rich gifts given, and robes of honour conferred

V. His battles with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī and Shēr Shāh. The latter's counter-attack and Humāyūn's defeat and flight across Sindh. Birth of Akbar at 'Umarkōt.

VI. His activities in Turkistān, Qandhār, and Cābul. His fight with Kāmrān. Defeat and pardon of the latter.

VII. Humāyūn's taste for astrology and his prophecy regarding Akbar's future greatness.

VIII. His second expedition to Hindūstān. His battles with the Afghāns and Sikandar. Humāyūn's victory and accession to the throne.

The author has at places imitated Firdausī so closely in loftiness of expression, beauty of language and daintiness of similes that it is sometimes hard to distinguish which is which. He must be a great poet indeed from among the very best poets of Humāyūn's or Akbar's reign.[1] Some of his lines by way of sample are quoted below from the B. M. codex :—

Lines on Humāyūn's communication and fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī :—

شنیدم ز دانا دلے هوشمند
که عاقل نخواهد بکس ناپسند
خصوصاً باقوام و خویش و تبار
که نقصان ایشاں بود ننگ و عار

[1] Shiblī on the alleged authority of Badāūnī states that Nazīrī, the famous lyric poet of Akbar's reign, had undertaken to write an epic poem entitled "Shāh Nāma i Humāyūnī," which remained unfinished, at the suggestion of Bairām Khān [Shi'r-ul-'Ajam, Vol III, p. 4]
I was unable to discover the reference in Badāūnī, under both Nazīrī and Bairām Khān Shiblī has evidently confused Nazīrī, with Manzarī, a less important poet, who, according to Badāūnī had undertaken the task. [*Vide* Vol. III, pp. 340-41] Badāūnī has also quoted one verse as sample which I could not find in the B. M. codex.

همای همایوں عزت شعار
نمی خواست هاری بخویش و تبار

فرستاد سوی بهادر پیام
که بادا ترا عیش و عشرت مدام

بفرماں رواتی شدی سرفراز
بتقویت شاه دهلی طراز

یقین نعمت از شکر افزوں شود
ز ناشکری از دست بیروں شود

اگر سر تو بیچی ز فرماں بری
تو بینی سرانجام ایں داوری

من از حسن الطاف کردم پیام
تو دانی دگر بعد ازیں والسلام

بهادر چو ایں نامه را کرد گوش
در آمد چو نابخرداں در خروش

بگفتا بمنشی نویس ایں جواب
که آتش فروزد ز دریای آب

چو فارغ شد از عرض آں عرصه داشت
بنوك زباں تخم ادبار کاشت

بهادر چو بسیار مستی نمود
بدا گفتنیها زباں بر کشود

بفرماں شاه زمین و زماں
جهانی بتادیب او شد رواں

بر آمد خدیو روا رو بماه
به مند و رسیدند هر دو سپاه
دو دریاے لشکر بقصد مصاف
بتمکین گرو برده از کوه قاف
بده ساقیا باده از جام هوش
که هر کس از و جرعهٔ کرد نوش
شهنشاه انجم به نیلی حصار
در آمد چو از هیبت کارزار
فلك پرده از اطلس شب کشید
پئی مشورت شاه خلوت گزید
سران سپه جمله جمع آمدند
چو پروانها گرد شمع آمدند
که شمعے که خورشید رفعت حباب
به پروانگی یافت از وے خطاب
سپهر سخا شاه دریا نوال
که در وصف او ناطقه ماند لال
سحاب کرم را دُرر بار کرد
جهاں را پر از در شهوار کرد

Lines on Humāyūn's march from 'Irāq to Qandhār, and the capture of its fortress.

[1]سحرگه که خاقاں خاور سپاه
برآمد ازیں نیلگوں بارگاه

[1] Or. 1797, B.M. MSS., fol. 25a.

چو انجم ازیں چرخ نیلوفري
نه عسکر بجا ماند و نے عسکری
و لیکن به قلعه در آمد براغ
دل خلق را سوخت مانند داغ
چو قلعه باں ترك سرکش فتاد
خرد گفت در قلعه اتش فتاد
ولے آنچنا آتشے برفروخت
که مانند دشمن دل دوست سوخت
بساں خزینه دفینه تمام
شدي مجلس آراے هر خاص و عام
خزینه خرابات ساں شد خراب
زر سرخ هر سو رواں چوں شراب

CHAPTER IV

The greater part of Humāyūn's reign was unsettled and chequered with misfortunes and exiles. The extent of progress made by Urdū in his reign is hardly ascertainable due to the scantiness of material, but there could be no doubt that the same was progressing steadily in the whole of Upper Hindūstān, including the Punjab and the Gujarāt The appearance of Hindī-Persian poets in increasing numbers is a good testimony of the gradual hold of Hindī over Persian, and their mutual growth and free play with each other. An evidence of same is to be found in the talk of a parrot which was captured by Humāyūn in his fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī. When Humāyūn led an attack on Mālwa in 942 A.H., Sultān Bahādur, better known as Bahādur Shāh, at the advice of his faithless General Rūmī Khān, unwisely took refuge in the fort outside the city, instead of meeting his enemy face to face in battle. The siege lasted for several weeks till at last Humāyūn's officers, who had secretly won over Rūmī Khān to their side, began to intercept the supplies of food sent to Bahādur Shāh which weakened the position of the besieged a great deal In addition to this treachery, Rūmī Khān one night caused his men to set fire to the royal magazine, and this was followed by an attack from Humāyūn's troops who eventually entered the fort unmolested. Thus Bahādur Shāh was overcome

Progress of Urdū in Humāyūn's reign.

and fled to Gujarāt for his life. He had a favourite bird—a tūtī which repeated what it heard like a human being. When it was brought to Humāyūn in the open court, Rūmī Khān also was invited by the king to be present. On Rūmī Khān's entering the court, Humāyūn courteously said, "خوش بیاٸد رومی خان"[1] (welcome Rūmī Khān). The bird hearing his name screamed aloud

A parrot uttering an Urdū phrase.

"پھٹ پاپی رومی خان نمکحرام پھٹ پاپی نمکحرام"[2] (Tut Rūmī Khān, sinner, untrue to salt, tut sinner, untrue to salt). All amazed, and Humāyūn said :—

[3]چکنم رومي خان حيف که جانور است سزاوار
عقوبت نيست إلا زبانش از دهانش بر مي کندم-

What can I do Rūmī Khān, alas, it is a bird, otherwise I would have pulled its tongue from its mouth.

The speech of the bird is a curious combination of Hindī, Persian and Arabic words, systematically arranged and put in a sentence.[4] This is perhaps the best example of Urdū that could be traced in the reign of Humāyūn, and serves to show how people were accustomed to talk in their homes and on private occasions. Of the many

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[1] Mir'āti Sikandarī MSS., dated 1087 A H, fol. 107a

[2] Ibid., fol. 108b

[3] Ibid.

[4] *Phit* and *Pāpī* are Hindī, and *namak* Persian, compounded with *harām*, Arabic. Also cf. a similar instance of a parrot speaking Persian cited under Bābur. [*Supra*, p. 76.]

poets cited under Humāyūn, Badāūnī has referred to some who composed both in Hindī and Persian. On the same authority we learn that their hybrid composition had found complete favour with the gentry and on several occasions sung before Humāyūn. Thus the already existing relations between Hindī and Persian had drawn closer and more friendly under Humāyūn than under Bābur. Both the Hindūs and the Muslims now appear to have publicly given up their prejudices not only in the cultivation but also in the use of each other's literature. The Muslims though from the very beginning showed no such bias in the acquisition of Hindī language, yet they had not taken to do it so freely as they did now. The Hindūs too in their turn, owing to their unavoidable social and political relations with the Muslims, were doing the same. The Rājpūt Princes and the Hindū Rājās, for holding necessary communications with the Muslim conquerors, kept at their courts a special staff well-equipped to deal with the original Persian documents. In certain cases where the papers were of a confidential nature, the Rājās themselves used to attend to them. Similarly the Muslims behaved and kept a competent staff ready at hand to cope with Hindī correspondence. A good instance of the Rājās' writing to Shēr Shāh fictitious letters in Hindī with their forged replies in Persian, which were purposely

A definite advance made by Urdū, under Hindū-Muslim cultivation of each other's literature.

Faked Hindī letters of Rājās to Shēr Shāh, and their supposed replies in Persian from the latter.

thrown in the way of Rājā Māldeo, as a trap, and picked up and read by the latter personally, is to be found in the following:—

[1]راجها فرصت یافته نزد شیر شاه آمدند و بمشورت شیر شاه کتابات از زبان امراے مالدیو بخط هندوی بشیر شاه نوشتند که ما بنابر ضرورت درین مدت اطاعت مالدیو میکردیم..... هرگاه لشکر ظفر اثر اسلام نزدیك برسد ما از راجه مالدیو جدا شده بموکب عالي ملحق میگردیم و بر وفق همان مکاتیب نیز از زبان شیر شاه نوشتند که انشاءالله تعالی بعد از فتح و مغلوبیت مالدیو شما را معزز و مکرم داشته جمیع اقطاع موروثي آباو اجداد شما را بشما ارزاني میدارم......پس آن کتابات مزور را بلطایف‌الحیل بدست مالدیو انداختند ، مالدیو که همیشه از زمینداران و امراے خود اندیشه ، دغدغه در خاطر داشت از مطالعه مکاتیب هراسان شده..... و کونهیا ، دیگر امراے او هر چند نصیحت کردند سودمند نیفتاد -

The Rājās obtaining opportunity came to Shēr Shāh, and in consultation with him wrote letters to him from the tongue of the *Umarā* of Māldeo in Hindī script, saying, "We through necessity did homage to Māldeo up till now. When the victorious army of Islām will reach near, we, having separated ourselves from Rājā Māldeo, will join your

[1] Farishta, Vol. I, pp. 426-427.

Majesty's forces." And in accordance with these letters they also wrote from the tongue of Shēr Shāh stating "God willing, after our victory and subjection of Māldeo, I will hold you in honour and esteem, and will reinstate you in all your ancestral possessions." Thereafter they made those false letters fall through clever devices into the hands of Māldeo. And Māldeo who always entertained fear and anxiety in his heart against his Zamīndārs and *Umarā* got terrified on perusing those letters and Kūnhaiyā and other nobles, however much they counselled him, it proved of no avail.

Growth of Muslim poets of Hindī language and Hindū writers of Persian prose and poetry.

As a result of this harmony and interalliance, Muslim poets of Hindī language on the one hand, and Hindū writers of Persian on the other, sprang up in ever so large numbers under the patronage of the later Mughal emperors.

During Humāyūn's absence from India the same feature prevailed in the reign of Shēr Shāh, and the number of such poets as composed both in Hindī and Persian kept multiplying. The Muslim interest in Hindī literature under Shēr Shāh is evidently more marked than before, due perhaps to his own predilections for Hindī. The appearance of a renowned poet of Hindī language, Malik Muhammad Jā'isī, who is described under Shēr Shāh marks a new era in the history of Muslim lore in India. It is a notable

departure from the old customary traditions of mixing Hindī with Persian, for his poems were composed in terse Hindī almost to the exclusion of Persian vocabulary.

SHER SHĀH SEATED ON HIS THRONE

(*From an album of Pathān kings.*)

CHAPTER V

A portion of the period of Humāyūn's rule is covered by Shēr Shāh who held undisputed sway of Hindūstān for five years during Humāyūn's exile. His real name was Farīd, and his title '*Shēr Khān*' which was conferred upon him by Sultān Muhammad, ruler of Behār, due to the extraordinary valour shown by Farīd in killing a tiger. On his defeating Humāyūn and ascending the throne at Delhī, he changed '*Shēr Khān*' into '*Shēr Shāh.*' His grandfather, Ibrāhīm Sūr, had come down to India from Afghānistān in the reign of Sultān Bahlōl Lōdī, and served under him in various capacities. After Ibrāhīm's death, his son Hasan Sūr took service under Jamāl Khān, an influential noble of Sikandar Lōdī's court, and received as '*jāgīr*' the important '*parganās*' of Sahsrām and Khawāspūr which remained for long a bone of contention between Farīd and his brothers.

Shēr Shāh: his name and parentage.

In his early youth he had left his home, through domestic unpleasantness, for Jaunpūr, where he busied himself in the pursuit of knowledge, and acquired a taste for history and literature. He studied Arabic grammar up to 'Kāfiya' and sundry works of Persian poets like Sa'dī and Nizāmī;

His literary attainment and patronage of letters.

فرید[1] بتقریب نامهربانی پدر و خصومت برادران جدا شده ترك نوکری جمال خان نموده چندگاه در جونپور به تحصیل علوم و کسب کمالات میگزرانید تا آنکه کتاب کافیه را باحواشی و دیگر مختصرات خواند و از کتب سواد گلستان و بوستان و سکندرنامه و غیرآن نیز استحضار گرفت و پیرامون خوانق و مدارس گشته در صحبت علما و مشایخ کبار آن دیار به تهذیب اخلاق مشغول شد -

Farīd due to the unkindness of his father and the enmity of his brothers, having separated from them, and resigned his service under Jamāl Khān, passed some time at Jaunpūr in gathering knowledge and the acquirement of perfections, till the time he read '*Kāfiya*' with commentaries and other compendiums. And he also read the *Gulistān*, *Būstān*, and *Sikandar Nāma* and other works besides, and having approached monasteries and schools, he busied himself in the purification of morals in the society of the learned and the great Shaikhs of that locality.

و[2] در فن تاریخ نیز باوقوف شد -

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol. I, 357
Also, refer Qānūngo's life of Shēr Shāh.

[2] Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'ānī (bound with Nafāi's ul Ma'āsir), B.M.MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 126a.

And in the branch of history as well he became conversant.

Like his predecessor, Sultān Sikandar Lōdī, he patronised the students of Arabic and Persian literature, and attached great importance to educational merit in all public services. In his official and private life he had scholars and poets constantly attending him[1] and was fond of listening to their literary discussions and participating in same. Once a Qāzī of his court, who was accompanied by a young student, came to see him. The keen interest evinced by the latter in the youth and the patronage shown to him is described as follows:

A young student of Arabic rewarded by Shēr Shāh for correct answers to questions on Arabic grammar.

[2] حواني باقاضي همراه - شیرشاه از قاضي پرسید
که این همراهي شما میدانم که خویشي بشما داشته
باشد اما هیچ فصلت هم دارد قاضي گفت طالبعلم
است کافیه میخواند شیرشاه چون کافیه را با حواشي
درست بخاطر داشت ازان طالبعلم پرسید که عمر
منصرفست یا غیر منصرف طالبعلم عرض نمود که غیر
منصرفست شیرشاه فرمود که بچه دلیل طالبعلم از روي
فهمیدگي بدلایل معقولي جواب هوشمندانه بداد

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[1] Cf. شیر شاه خود طعام با علما و مشایخ می خورد [Tārīkh i Dā'udī, B.M MSS. Or 197, fol. 77a.]

Also Cf و در خدمت افاضل کرام و مشایخ عظام پیوسته [Bāgh i Ma'ānī, *ut supra*].

[2] Ibid., fol. 80a.

شیرشاه فرمود که پانصد بیگه زمین و پانصد روپیه
نقد باو بدهند طالبعلم عرض نمود که بنده یك
قابلیت دیگر هم دارد شیرشاه فرمود که کدام قابلیت
است گفت حافظ کلام ربانی ام شیرشاه فرمود که
پانصد بیگه و پانصد روپیه دیگر نیز بیفزایند مقارن
آن حالت از طالبعلم پرسید که موافق قابلیت خود
معاش و زر نقد یافتی عرض نمود که بلی یافتم کرم
پادشاهانه دیافتم شیر شاه فرمود که پانصد بیگه
زمین و پانصد روپیه نقد دیگر بیفزایند -

A youth accompanied the Qāzī. Shēr Shāh asked the Qāzī, "I presume that this comrade of yours bears some relationship with you, but does he possess any merit also"? The Qāzī replied, "The youth is a student, and reads '*Kāfiya*.' Shēr Shāh, since he had retained in his recollection the '*Kāfiya*' with its correct commentaries, asked that student, "Is '*Umar* '*munsarif*' or '*ghair munsarif*'?" The student replied, '*ghair munsarif*.' Shēr Shāh said, "With what argument?" The student gave an intelligent answer with his arguments based on logical reasoning. Shēr Shāh ordered that 500 '*bīgah*' of land and 500 rupees cash be given to him. The student said, "I possess one more merit." Shēr Shāh asked, "What is that?" The student replied, "I retain in my memory the Divine book." Shēr Shāh ordered that

500 '*bigah*' and 500 rupees more be added to his share. Simultaneously with that, he asked the student, "Did you get the means of living and the cash money according to your merits?" The student replied, "Yes, I got them, but I have not yet received the generosity of the king." Shēr Shāh ordered that 500 '*bigah*' of land and 500 rupees cash more be added.

His taste for Persian and Hindī poetry.

He had a good taste for poetry and composed verses both in Persian and Hindī under the pen-name '*Farīd*.' The following Persian verse of his own composition was his monogram which he got inscribed on his seal.

[1]شه الله باقي ترا باد دايم
بماں شير شه بن حسن سور قايم

God keep thee king for ever,
Live in peace Shēr Shāh, son of Hasan Sūr.

On one occasion when Humāyūn's army in a contest with Shēr Shāh was completely routed and many of the soldiers and notable officers were drowned in

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[1] Farishta, Vol. I, p. 429

NOTE—The author of Tārīkh i Dā'ūdī puts the first hemistich as follows:

شه اله باقي بر او باد دايم

God, the king. (or, God, the Eternal King), may remain over him always

[Ibid, B.M. MSS, Or. 197, fol. 77a.]

the river while crossing same, Shēr Shāh composed a very opportune quatrain as follows :

[1] خدایا توانا تونگر توئي
توانائے درویش پرور توئي
فرید حسن را تو شاهي دهي
سپاه همایون بماهی دهی

O God, Mighty and Rich art Thou,
Thou art the Mighty Supporter of the poor ;
Thou givest royalty to Farīd, son of Hasan,
Thou givest the army of Humāyūn to the fish.

In his composition he followed the current Indian style which was on the lines of flowery Persian.

[2] و شعر فارسي بروش مردم هندوستان گفتے

And Persian verses he composed after the manner of the people of Hindūstān.

He also composed verses in Hindī and was a patron of Hindī poetry. The chief Hindī and Persian poets of his court were respectively Malik Muhammad Jāi'sī (the author of Padumāwat), and Shaikh 'Abdul Hai, son of Shaikh Jamālī Kambūh.

There is a Persian-Arabic verse of his as follows :

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[1] Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'ānī (bound with Nafāis ul Ma'āsir) B.M. MSS., Or 1761, fol. 130a.

[2] Tarīkh i Dā'ūdī, B.M MSS., Or. 197, fol. 77a.

[1] با ما چه کرده دیدی ملو غلام کیدی
قولیست مصطفیٰ را لا خیر فی العبیدی

With us what did Mullū do ? the slave, the cursed,
The Prophet has said, " There is no good in slaves."

He evinced good taste and fine poetic humour on many occasions. Once on being told that his beard had grown white, he replied that it was true, since he wore the crown towards the evening of his life.

He died while storming the fort of Kālinjar in 952 A.H., through the bursting of an enemy rocket which caused a fire in the magazine. The date of his death was found in the most suggestive phrase "ز آتش مرد" in the following chronogram composed by one of his court poets.

His death.

[2] شیرشاه آنکه از مهابت او
شیر و بز آب را بهم میخورد

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[1] Badāūnī, Vol I, p. 365.

NOTE.—Shēr Shāh had composed this verse on the occasion when Mullū Khān, ruler of Mālwa playing false, had one night surreptitiously disappeared from Shēr Shāh's camp, although the latter had shown him great favour and taken him into confidence.

Farishta attributes the second hemistich to Shaikh 'Abdul Hai who had composed it offhand to match with Shēr Shāh's first hemistich [Farishta, Vol. I, p 425.] The same is corroborated by Nizāmuddīn Ahmad: Tabaqāt i Akbarī, p. 281.]

[2] Farishta, Vol. I, p. 429.

از جهان رفت گفت پیر خرد
سال تاریخ او ز آتش مرد

Shēr Shāh is he through whose terror,
The lion and the goat drank water together ;
He went away from the world ; old Wisdom uttered,
The year of his death, "from the fire he died."

Historians are unanimously agreed that Shēr Shāh was a just, wise, and capable monarch, and his reign was distinguished for peace and tranquillity.

Badāūnī's and Farishta's estimate of Shēr Shāh

Badāūnī congratulates himself on his birth having taken place in the reign of a just monarch like Shēr Shāh[1] in the following words which shower a most glowing tribute of praise that could ever be paid to any Muslim king :

[2] و بحمد الله که در زمان اینچنین ملکی کما قال النبي علیه السلام انا ولدت فی زمان الملك العادل تولد صاحب این منتخب در هفتدهم شهر ربیع الثانی در سنه سبع و اربعین و تسعمایه واقع شد -

And God be praised that in the regime of such a king as said by the Prophet (may peace be upon him), "I was born in the reign of a just monarch," the birth of the author

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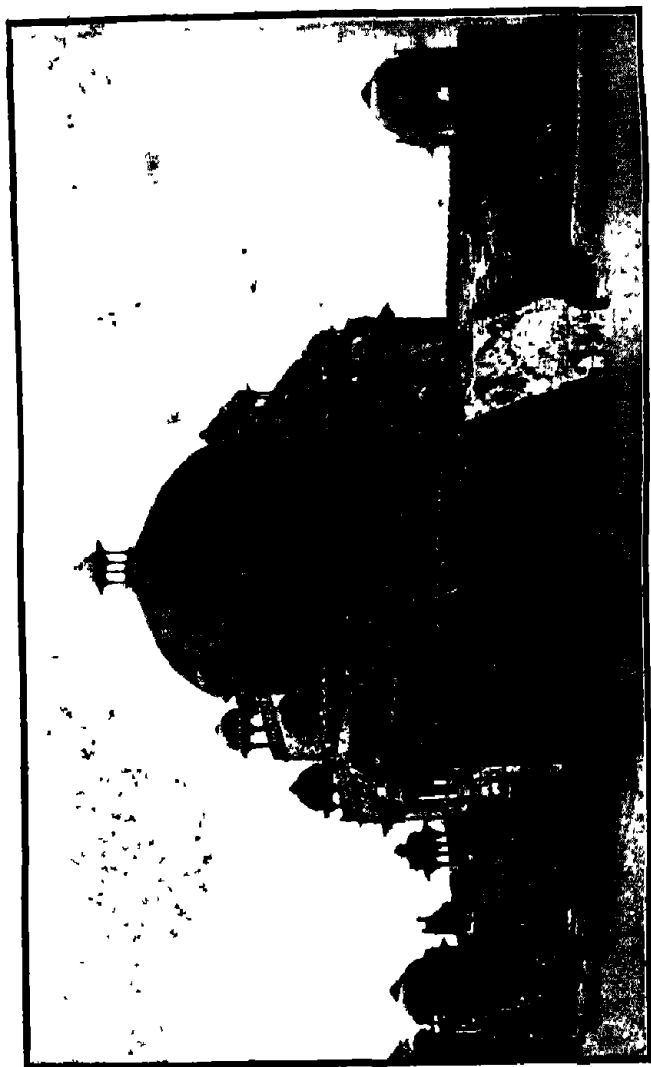
[1] This encomium of Badāūnī is significant since he had no word of praise for his own sovereign, Akbar, by whom he was patronised

[2] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 363.

Tomb of Sher Shāh at Sahsrām
Dt. Shāhābād, Bengal.

of this '*Muntakhab*' took place on the 17th of the month of *Rabī'us Sānī* in the year 947 A.H.

Farishta holds the same view of Shēr Shāh's just and peaceful administration and says that he performed many deeds of public good in building Cāravānsarāīs for the Hindūs and the Muslims alike on the main roads from Bengāl to the Indus (a distance of 1500 kōs), and from Āgra to Māndū (a distance of 300 kōs), requisitioning them with plentiful supplies of food and provision, and making these routes perfectly safe for journey :

[1] و در هر یك کروه سرائے ساخته چاه و مسجد از خشت پخته و گچ پرداخته موذن و مقري و امامي مقرر نموده آنها را وظیفه معین کرده و در هر سرائے یك دروازه طعام پخته و خام برائے مسلمانان و دروازهٔ دیگر کذلك برائے هندوان مقرر نموده .... و در عهدش امنیت بمرتبهٔ بود که مترددین در صحرا و بیابان هرجا میرسیدند از کالائے خود اندیشه نکرده بفراغت می غنودند گویند اگر زالے با سبدي پر از طلا در صحرا شبها خواب کردي حاجت پاسبان اصلا نبودي ...... اکثر اوقات خود را صرف کار خلائق کردی و سر انجام سپاه و تیمار رعایا بواجبی نمودي و بر طریقهٔ عدل و داد استقامت داشتي -

And at the end of every kōs he got built a Sarāi, a mosque, and a well, from lime and

[1] Farishta, Vol. I, p. 429.

baked brick. He appointed a '*mu'azzin,*' a reader of the Qur'ān, and an Imām, and fixed gratuities for each of them. And in every *Sarāi* he fixed one gate for cooked food and rations for the Muslims, and another similar gate for the Hindūs. And in his reign such was the public security that travellers in jungle and desert, whereever they reached, went to sleep without apprehension for their property. It is said that if an old woman with a tray full of gold slept at nights in a desert there was no need for a watch at all. Often he devoted himself to public service and duly attended to the affairs of his army and the welfare of his subjects, and persevered in the path of equity and justice.

Malik Muhammad Jā'isī a poet of epoch-making significance.

He is a most important poet of the court of Shēr Shāh. He combined the Sanskrit and Persian scholarship with poetic attainments, and was regarded as a Sūfī. He was patronised by Shēr Shāh whom he eulogised in his memorable Hindī poem, the '*Padumāvatī*'[1] which was a notable undertaking by a Muslim. It was

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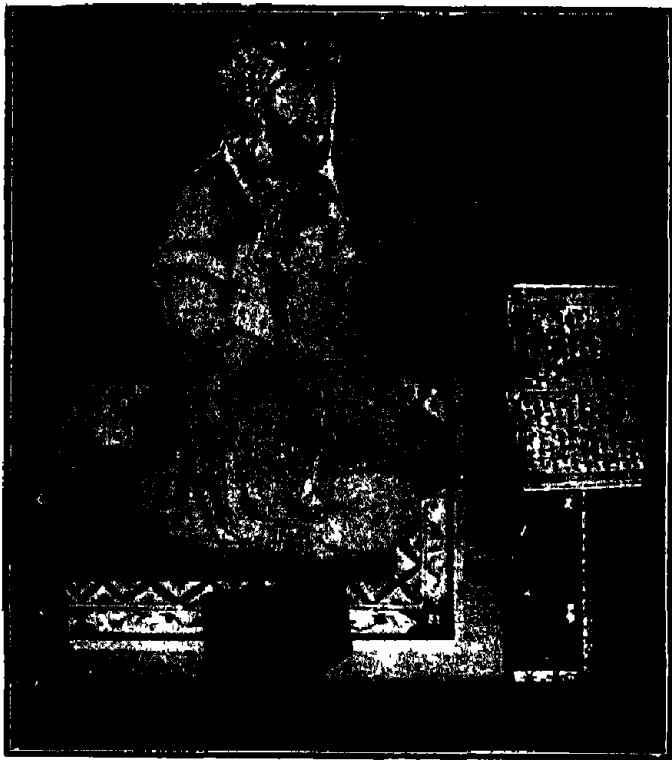
[1] A woman of remarkable beauty, daughter of the Rājā of Ceylon, seized by the Rājā of Chittaur, and afterwards fell in possession of Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī. Her story is also written in Persian poetry by one Husain Ghaznawī. Another by Rāi Gobind Munshī. Also in Urdū verse by the joint efforts of Mīr Ziyā'ūddīn 'Ibrat, and Ghulām 'Alī 'Ishrat.

MALIK MUHAMMAD JĀ'ISĪ, THE RENOWNED POET OF SHER SHĀH.

[*Kindly lent by Prof A Qavi Fáni, M A, Lucknow University.*]

written in 947 A.H., in terse Hindī language occasionally mixed with Persian and easy Hindī words. The most curious thing was that he adopted Persian characters for his text, an event of epoch-making significance in the history of both Hindī and Persian literatures in India:

> "Malik Muhammad is, we believe, the oldest poet of Hindūstān of whom we have any uncontested remains. The preservation of Padumāvatī is due mainly to the happy accident of Malik Muhammad's religious reputation. Although profoundly affected by the teaching of Kabīr, and familiarly acquainted with Hindū lore and with the Hindū Yōga philosophy, he was from the first revered as a saint by his Muhammadan co-religionists. He wrote his poem in what was evidently the actual vernacular of his time, tinged slightly with an admixture of a few Persian words and idioms due to his Musalmān predirections. It is also due to his religion that he originally wrote it in the Persian character, and hence discarded all the favourite devices of Pandits who tried to make their language correct by spelling vernacular words in the Sanskrit fashion. He spelled each word rigorously as it was pronounced. His work is hence a valuable witness to the actual condition of the vernacular language of the 16th century."[1]

[1] G H. Grierson and Mahāmahopādhyāya Sudhā Karan Dvivēdī, Padumāvatī, Vol. I, Introduction, Calcutta, 1911.

He was a disciple of two prominent Sūfīs, Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr and Sayyid Muhī'ūddīn,[1] whose praises he sang in his poems calling them as his masters and steersmen. He also poured unqualified praise on Shēr Shāh for his just and peaceful reign, and for his literary patronage. He is one of the three great Muslim poets of Hindi[2] who flourished in India in the 16th century A.D., and helped towards the formation and growth of modern Urdū the lingua franca of India.

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[1] These two in their lifetimes had considerable influence over the people of Upper Hindūstān, and belonged to the Chishtīya Nizāmīya order.

[2] The other two being Kabīr of the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lōdī (already described under Bābur), and Rahīm of the reign of Akbar (to be discussed hereafter).

CHAPTER VI

He met his tragic death at Delhī in 963 A.H., by an accidental fall from the terrace of his library where he often retired in the afternoons to amuse himself with books. That evening also according to his wont, having examined his bookshelves, he walked on to the terrace to enjoy fresh air. Just when he was descending the staircase the '*mū'azzin*' gave a call to prayers, on hearing which he went down on his knees in holy reverence. When the '*azān*' was over, he rose supporting himself on a staff which unfortunately slipped upon the marble, and he fell down headlong several steps. He received great injuries in his head and arm, and was removed to his palace insensible. On the fifth day he expired.[1] Thus ended the life of one of the most

Humāyūn's death.

[1] Badāūnī and Abul Fazl have probably used the Turkī work '*Mır'āt ul Mamālik*' of Sīdī 'Alī Reis who was then personally present at the court and describes the event with almost the same accuracy of detail as do Badāūnī and Abul Fazl, with the following notable differences:

(*i*) Sīdī 'Alī Reis omits to say from what part or section of the castle Humāyūn fell; while Badāūnī and Abul Fazl make it quite clear by stating that the fall occurred from the building known as '*Kitāb Khāna*' (library).

humane monarchs of the Mughal dynasty, a lover of science and literature, and a character nobler than any to be found in the long line of the Mughal kings.

Elegiac poems.

The court poets wrote chronograms[1] each trying to excel the other in poetic grace and plaintiveness. Of the numerous chronograms the best was of Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī quoted by Jauhar and reproduced on p. 55 *supra*. Elegiac poems were also written

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(*ii*) Sīdī 'Alī Reis makes Humāyūn die on the fourth day of his fall. Cf. the statement :

حکمت‌اللهک جمعه کون اختتام نمازی وقتنده پادشاه...... مرحمتپناه
کون دار رحمتدن جوار رحمة انتقال ایتدیلر -

[Mir'āt ul Mamālik, p. 55];

while Abul Fazl on the fifth day; and Badāūnī on the ninth. Cf. the statement

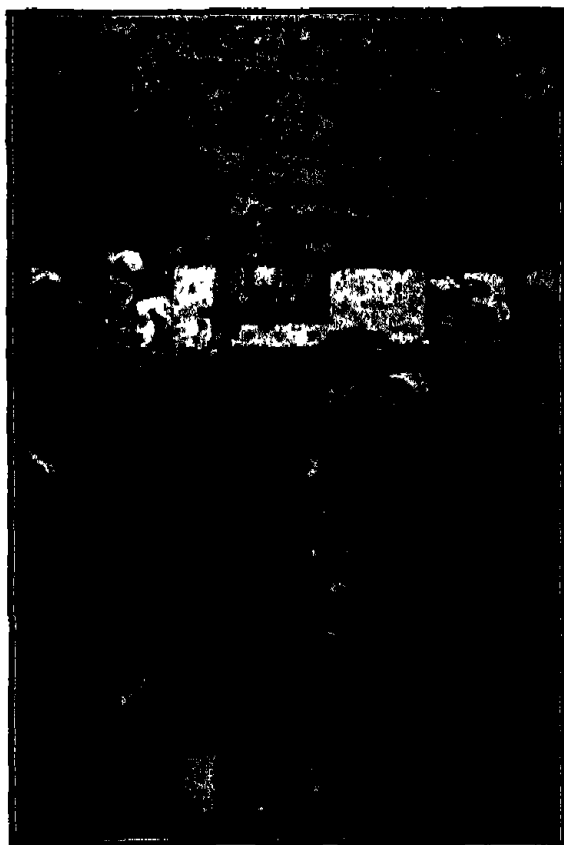
در تاریخ هفتم شهر ربیع‌الاول پادشاه بر بالاے بام کتابخانه بر
آمدند و در حین فرود آمدن پاے ایشان بلغزید و از چند زینه
پایه غلطیده بزمین آمدند و در پانزدهم ماه مذکور این عالم بیوفا را
پدرود کردند -

[Badāūnī, Vol. I, pp. 465-466]

I suspect that پانزدهم is a misprint for یازدهم If so, the versions of Badāūnī and Abul Fazl tally with Jauhar who, though gives no details, yet declares that the fall took place on the 7th and the death on the 11th.

[1] Cf. Maulānā Hisārī's chronogram :

و اصل حق شد همایون پادشاه

(Humāyūn Pādishāh united with God). Also Cf. Mīr 'Abdul Hai's اے واے پادشاه من از بام افتاد O alas! my king fell down from the terrace (Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 368).

HUMĀYŪN'S REMAINS BEING CARRIED TO THE BURIAL GROUND: THE YOUNG PRINCE AKBAR ACCOMPANYING THE CORTEGE.

[*Acquired at Lucknow*]

of which the most touching was from the pen of Khwāja Husain Mervi as follows:

[1] اے دل صداے مرگ ترا هم شنیدنی ست
صبح اجل بمطلع عمرت دمیدنی ست
چوں کل نفس ذائقة الموت حکم شد
میدان یقین که شربت مرگت چشیدنی ست
ایں نام زندگی که نهادند مر ترا
نام ترا بطرف مماتت کشیدنی ست
غره مشو بایں گل بستان زندگی
باد خزاں دریں گل و بستان وزیدنی ست
از گوش خویشتن شنوی کاں فلاں نماند
درگوش دیگران خبرت هم رسیدنی ست

O heart, thou too hast to hear the call of death,
The morn of death is to appear on the horizon of thy life;
Since it was ordained 'every soul must taste of death,'
Know for certain that thou hast to taste the drink of death;
This name of life that they gave to thee,
Is only to draw thy name towards death;
Do not pride thyself on this rose of the garden of life,

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[1] Ibid.

The wind of autumn has to blow in this rose and the garden ;
Thou hearest with thine own ears that a certain one passed away,
In the ears of others thy news also has to go.

His wit and humour.

Humāyūn, unlike his father, was a monarch more of literary tendencies than of administrative bent[1] and possessed a keen sense of humour hardly surpassed by any

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[1] He was so fond of study that he took his books with him everywhere in his travels. Even in his flight under adverse circumstances he did not suffer to leave behind his library of which he took great care during all his journeys to and from Persia, across the deserts and in the thick of battles against his foes Cf. his inquisitiveness about the same after his party was attacked by Kāmrān.

چون کامران میرزا جمعیت و علمهاے خوب دید دانست که پادشاه است بیکبارگي حمله کرد و درون قلعه طالقان درآمد.... .حضرت خبر از کتابخانه پرسید عرض کردند که سلامت است -

Since Kāmrān Mīrzā saw a large crowd with banners he thought it was his Majesty and attacked at once, and entered the fort of Tāliqān. His Majesty enquired about the library. They replied that it was quite safe. (Tazkirat ul Wāqi'āt B.M MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 99a.) Also cf., his delight at receiving books presented to him by a Persian noble at Zankān near Tabrīz :

و حسین قلي میرزا برادر احمدسلطان از مشهد بدیدن والدة و برادران آمدة بود که رخصت مکه معظمه حاصل نماید بندگان حضرت را ملازمت کرد کتاب چندے که داشت پیشکش نمود از کتابها انچه خوش آمدند گرفتند و تتمه را باز بخشیدند -

other monarch of his line. In his display and appreciation of wit he may be compared to his ancestor Timūr; in his love for science to Ulūgh Bēg; and in his poetic insight to Jahāngīr. A few instances of same are quoted below:

[1] و قرجه خان را شمشیر در گردن کرده آوردند چون بمشعل که نزدیك دربار بود رسید حکم کردند که چون مرد ریش سفید است وهد رهم گفته ایم شمشیر از گردن او بردارند......بعد ازان حسین‌قلی سلطان مهر دار این بیت را خواند

چراغی را که ایزد بر فروزد

هر آنکو تف زند ریشش بسوزد

وقرجه خان چون ریش دراز داشت این بیت بمحل واقع شد حضرت ازین سخن کمال خوشحالی نمودند -

And they brought Qarjā Khān with sword hung round his neck. When he reached the torch which was near the *Audience Hall*,

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And Husain Qulī Mīrzā, brother of Ahmad Sultān, who had come from Mashad to see his mother and brothers to obtain leave for Mecca, interviewed his Majesty, and presented some books which he possessed. Out of these books his Majesty took some which pleased him and gave back the rest.

(Tārīkh-i-Humāyūn, I. O. MSS., 223, fol. 3b.)

Also cf., his death by a fall from the terrace of his library to which he repaired in the afternoons for his mental recreation.

[1] Ibid., foll. 36b and 37a.

Humāyūn ordered that as Qarjā Khān was grey-haired and we had also perjured his blood, the sword should be removed from his neck. After this Husain Qulī Sultān, the seal-bearer, recited this verse :

The lamp which is lit by God,
Whoever puffs at it his beard burns.

And since Qarjā Khān had a long beard this verse came opportune. His Majesty enjoyed this wit in the extreme.

Another instance of his ready wit is to be found in the following :

[1] شیخ علي بیگ بهبود چوبدار را گفت که مبارکبادي بحضرت پادشاه رفته بده بهبود مذکور ...... روان شد نظر حضرت برین سوار افتاد پرسیدند که کدام سوار اینکه مي آید مردم بقیاس عرض کردند که بهبود چوبدار باشد حضرت پادشاه تفاول بشارت نیک گرفت و فرمودند که انشاءالله بهبود خواهد بود -

Shaikh 'Ali Bēg asked Bihbūd Chūbdār to go and congratulate his Majesty. The aforesaid Bihbūd started off. The eye of his Majesty fell on this rider and he asked, " Who is this rider that cometh "? People by mere guess replied that he might be 'Bihbūd' Chūbdār. His Majesty took this to be a good omen and said, "God be pleased, it would be '*bihbūd*' " (*i.e.*, it would turn out good).

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[1] Tazkirat ul Waqi'at, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 48b.

On one occasion Humāyūn composed a '*qit'a*' in which he very beautifully played on the word چتور (*chitaur*), and sent it on to Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī :

اے که هستی غنیم شهر چتور[1]
کافراں را چطور میگیری
پادشاهي رسید بر سر تو
تو نشسته چتور میگیري

O thou who art the enemy of the city of Chitaur,
How *(chitaur)* wilt thou capture the unbelievers ?
A king has reached over thy head,
Sitting, art thou taking Chitaur ?

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[1] Farishta, Vol. I, p. 399.

Cf., Bahādur Shāh's reply :

من که هستم غنیم شهر چتور * کافراں را بجور میگیرم
هر که بکند حمایت چتور * تو ببیں کهں چطور میگیرم

I, who am the enemy of Chitaur,
Will capture the infidels by force ,
Whoever stands in defence of Chitaur,
Thou may'st see how I capture him also.

It may be observed that Bahādur's reply is only a repetition of Humāyūn's wit, and carries no originality or improvement upon the latter.

Points in his character partly responsible for political crisis in his administration, and his forced flight to Persia.

He was a monarch of great humanity and possessed of very noble traits of character.[1] He was disposed to spend his time more in literary and peaceful concerns than aggression and military tactics on the battlefield.

His gentlest behaviour towards his brothers[2] through whose undisguised hostility he suffered

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[1] Cf Shāh Tahmāsp's remark about Humāyūn's character on his interceding for the pardon and release of two of his enemies who had poisoned the Shāh's mind against him, and were eventually convicted for the offence :

چون رقعه رسید و خواندند حضرت شاه عالم‌پناه در تعجب شدند
و فرمودند که محمد همایون پادشاه چه حلم دارد این مردم در پی
آزار وے بودند درینولا خلاصی ایشان میکند ۔

When the letter reached and the Shāh read it, he became astonished and said, "What, clement disposition does Muhammad Humāyūn Pādishāh possess! These people were seeking his injury, but he intercedes for them. [Jauhar, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 79a]

Also cf. his reply to the counsel of one of his officers to take possession of Rāja Māldeo's territory where Humāyūn's party was then taking shelter and had procured plentiful supply of grain and water :

اگر بفرض پادشاهی روے زمین بدهند من اینچنین کار قبیح و
کفران نمی کنم

If they were to give me the kingship of the whole world, I will not commit so foul a deed or be guilty of such ingratitude. [Ibid.]

[2] Cf. his reply to the counsel of his Generalissimo importunating him to kill Kāmrān who was in intrigue with Shēr Shāh, and seeking to dispossess Humāyūn of his kingdom ;

exile and reverses in his fights with Shēr Shāh, is a glorious chapter in history and a splendid trait in his character. One sublime example of his tender, grateful, and generous nature, is to be found in the munificent reward that he gave to a poor water-carrier who had helped him with a sheep-skin when his horse had slipped from underneath him in crossing the Ganges at Chausa.[1] It is a romantic and almost

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برائے این دنیائے ناپایدار برادر خود را از جان بیجان نمی کنم. و
اینچنین کار ناشایسته از من نمی آید

For this perishable world I will not render my brother from life to lifeless, and such unworthy act will not emanate from me. [Ibid., fol. 34b]

[1] Cf the protests of his brothers against this measure, and its extreme inadvisability due to the grave risks involved in compelling his nobles to bow publicly to a menial at a time when danger from Shēr Shāh was threatening :

غرض آن غلام سقا را بر تخت نشاندند و حکم فرمودند که همه
امرایان کورنش بغلام سقه بکنند و غلام بهر کس هرچه خواهد
بخشد و منصب بدهد تا دو روز به آن غلام بادشاهی دادند میرزا
هندال در آن مجلس نه بودند . میرزا کامران نیز نیامدند... . و
بحضرت گفته فرستادند که غلام را بخشیش و رعایتهاے دیگر بایست
کرد چه لازم بود که بر تخت نشیند درین وقت که شیر خان نزدیک
رسیده این چه کار است که حضرت میکنند

To be brief, his Majesty made the slave water-carrier sit on the throne, and gave order that all the '*Umarā* should make obeisance to that slave water-carrier, and the slave might bestow on any one whatever he liked and confer '***mansab.***' Till two days his Majesty gave royalty to that

unheard-of instance in modern history that a monarch ever rewarded the services of any of his truest, bravest, or loyalist officers, much less a menial of the rank of a water-carrier, with seating him on the royal throne.

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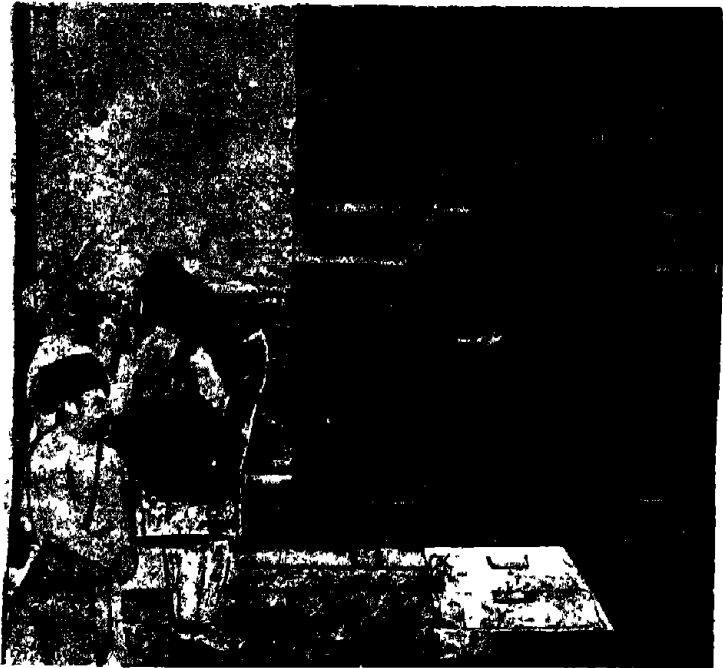
menial. Mirzā Hindāl was not present in that assembly, and Mirzā Kāmrān too did not attend, and sent word to his Májesty saying, "To the slave gifts and other kinds of concessions should be granted. What need is there that he should sit on the throne at a time when Shēr Khān has approached near? What is this work that your Majesty is doing?"

[Gulbadan Begam, Humāyūn Nāmā, p. 44.]

THE FAMOUS WATER-CARRIER, *king*, WHO HAD HELPED HUMĀYŪN WITH A SHEEP-SKIN, WHILE CROSSING THE RIVER AT CHAUSA, APPEARING FOR HIS REWARD BEFORE THE EMPEROR, WHO IS SEEN ISSUING ORDERS TO HIS SECRETARY.

[*Secured through Mr S M Azim Ansári, B A , Law student, 'Aligarh*]

CHAPTER VII

A great tribute of praise is paid by some Persian and English historians to Shāh Tahmāsp for his very noble and generous reception of Humāyūn. Sir John Malcolm, the great historian and authority on Persian affairs, writes thus:

Reception of Humāyūn by Shāh Tahmāsp.

> "The reign of Shāh Tahmāsp owes much of its celebrity to the truly royal and hospitable reception he gave to the Emperor Hoomāyoon, when that monarch was forced to fly from India and take shelter in his dominions. The Persians have in all ages boasted of their hospitality and the vanity of every individual is concerned in supporting the pretensions of his country to a superiority over others in the exercise of this national virtue;. . . and we know no example of a distressed monarch being so royally welcomed, so generously treated, and so effectually relieved. All means of the kingdom were called forth to do honour to the royal guest; and they were as liberally furnished to replace him upon his throne. Tahmāsp merited the

Sir John Malcolm's great tribute.

praise which his conduct upon this occasion obtained him from distant nations."[1]

Mis-judgment of Sir John.

This is an exaggerated, and to an extent erroneous account of the reception and the help given to Humāyūn. It is neither supported by reference to any historical source, nor its validity sufficiently tested. Persian writers also, especially of later date, express such views which similarly are based on no historical data. Some observations from "the artless and transparently truthful narrative of Humāyūn's personal attendant Jauhar," are reproduced below:

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[1] Sir John Malcolm, History of Persia, Vol. I, 508.

NOTE.—The help eventually given by the Shāh consisted of several thousand foot and cavalry which dispersed soon after the conquest of Qandhār, with all its treasures surrendered to them. Humāyūn then recruited fresh soldiers with whose help he was able to conquer Cābul, and there studiously busied himself from four to five years in making special preparations for his attack on India. He sent rich presents to all the great chiefs of Qandhār, Samarqand, Bukhārā, and other towns, inviting them to join him in his expedition, giving them great hopes for the future. It was to this newly raised army led under his command after five years of his return from Persia that he virtually owes his throne of India. Cf. his '*masnawī*' quoted on p. 18 supra. Also, Cf. Jauhar, fol. 127a:

حضرت پادشاه درین جاها مهر میکردند ، اهل عظمت و مشاهیر
زنان ملک سمرقند و بخارا و بمثله اعلام کردند و بعضی را
سوغات فرستادند ، نوشتند که اینجانب دفعه متوجه شدن بملک
هندوستان دارد انشاءالله تعالی اگر تشریف آرند هیچ مانع نیست
بیایند تا یکبار هکار هندوستان بکنیم تا مشیت چه آرد

Jauhar's eventful narrative, a most trustworthy record in existence.

[1]علی الصباح حضرت شاہ عالمپناہ کوچ کردہ در مقام سلطانیہ فرود آمدند...حضرت پادشاہ بسلام رفتہ بودند کہ چندان التفات بجانب خود ندیدند کلفت خاطر کشیدند...و خود را الزام کردن گرفتند کہ کاشکے نمی آمدیم و از براے مہمانے حضرت پادشاہ ہیزم جمع کردہ بودند کہ حضرت شاہ گفتہ فرستادند کہ اگر در دین ما در آیند در تربیت می باشیم و الاّ بہ تمامی اہل مذہب شمارا درین ہیزم آتش دادہ خواہیم سوخت حضرت پادشاہ گفتہ فرستادند کہ ما بدین خود قایم مقام ہستیم آمدیم و مارا چندان آرزوے پادشاہی ہم نیست و ہر چہ ہست بہ ارادۂ خداے عزوجل است دل خود را باو بستہ ایم -

Early in the morning the Shāh (Tahmāsp) having marched, arrived and halted at Sultāniyā. His Majesty (Humāyūn) had gone to greet him, but seeing no attention paid to himself was grieved at heart, and began to accuse himself, saying, " Would that I had not not come ! " And for the entertainment of his Majesty they had collected some firewood The Shāh sent a verbal message, saying, " If you enter into our religion we will extend our support, otherwise with all your co-religionists we shall burn you alive in this pile of

[1] Ibid., fol 7lb.

wood." His Majesty returned the message, "we are firm in our religion ; we came ; and we do not entertain much desire even for kingship. And whatever there is, it is with the will of God—the Great, and the High. We have bound our heart to Him."

Humāyūn approached by Shāh Tahmāsp to accept the Shī'a faith

Shortly afterwards Humāyūn was approached through a special messenger of the Shāh to accept the Shī'a faith under a similar threat :

[1] قاضي جهان وکیل حضرت شاه در ملازمت حضرت پادشاه آمد عرض کرد که شما تنها نیستید از سبب شما قریب هفت صد کس کشته خواهد شد

Qāzī Jahān, the Vakīl of the Shāh, came to his Majesty and said, "You are not alone. On your account about seven hundred people will be put to death."

Apart from this, Shāh Tahmāsp was all the time actually thinking to take Humāyūn's life which

Humāyūn's life saved through the noble intervention of Shāh Tahmāsp's daughter.

was saved only through a happy accident. The Shāh revealed his secret to his son Bahrām Mīrzā, who out of compassion divulged it to his sister through whose tender pleadings the situation was changed, and to whose truly noble spirit Humāyūn owes his life and all his subsequent career :

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[1] Ibid., fol 72a.

[1] الغرض یک روز حضرت شاه عالم‌پناه با بهرام میرزا
در سخن هلاکت دشمنان بودند حضرت پادشاه فرمودند
ازین سخن میرزا غلبهٔ کلفت کشید و رقت کرده بهمشیرهٔ
خود این ماجرا ظاهر ساخت که همایون پادشاه از نسل
تیمور پادشاه بجای خود به امیدواری تمام آمده و چند
مدت گذشته که با او هم‌نمک شده ایم درین ولا شاه
عالم‌پناه حکم باطل میکردند چون این عفیفه سخن
شنید بگریه در آمد که حضرت شاه در خانه آن عفیفه
رسید بهرام میرزا سلام کرده بدر رفت و حضرت شاه نزول
فرمودند و پرسیدند سبب گریستن چیست عرض کرد که
بروز خود میگریم بار فرمودند که سلامتی ما بخواهید
گفت همیشه در دعای حضرت شاه عالم‌پناه مشغولم فاما
شما هر چهار طرف دشمن دارید...... و شنیده میشود که
محمد همایون پادشاه پسر و برادران دارد بایدا رسانیدن
اوچه بدست می آید اگر بر احوال او رحم نکنند و
سرفراز نفرمایند و امداد او بجای بیاورند رخصت کنند
تا در هرجا که داند برود شاه عالم‌پناه این کلام شنید
در ساعت تسلی شد و گفت تمام امرایان مصلحت بیکردی
خود عرض میکردند فاما بهتر ازین نیست که تو
میگوئی -

To be brief, one day the Shāh talked with Bahrām Mīrzā of the killing of Humāyūn.

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[1] Ibid., foll. 76a—76b.

From this speech the Mīrzā being overcome with grief wept, and divulged this affair to his sister saying, "Humāyūn Pādishāh from the progeny of Timūr Pādishāh has come on foot with all hopes, and some period has elapsed since we have eaten the salt together. At this time the Shāh ordered a wrong thing." When this chaste lady heard this speech she burst into tears. In the meantime the Shāh entered her house. Bahrām Mīrzā saluted him and went out. And the Shāh halted and asked what was the reason for her crying. She said, "I weep on my day." The Shāh again said, "Wish our welfare." She said, "I am always busy in my prayer for your Majesty, but you have on all the four sides enemies. And it is heard that Muhammad Humāyūn Pādishāh has a son and brothers. What good should come to hand by torturing him? If you do not take pity on his affairs and exalt and help him, you should bid him farewell, so that whatever place he knows of he may go to." The Shāh listened to this speech and got pacified in that moment, and said, "All the *'Umarā* expressed their unwise policies, but there is nothing better than what thou sayest."

CHAPTER VIII

Exodus of poets and scholars from Persia to India.

During Humāyūn's reign, poets and scholars from all parts of Persia, Turkistān, Bukhārā, and Samarqand, continued to emigrate to India in larger numbers than before. Besides those already mentioned, there were many, like Maulānā 'Abdul Bāqī Sadr Turkistānī, Mīr 'Abdul Hai Bukhārī, Khwāja Hijrī Jāmī, Maulānā Bazmī, Mullā Muhammad Sālih, and Mullā Jān Muhammad, who accompanied Humāyūn on his second entry into Hindūstān.[1] The two popular poets Jāhī Yatmiyān of Bukhārā and Hairatī of Māwarā un Nahr had entered Humāyūn's service at Cābul, and received his favours. Similarly Khwāja Ayyūb from Māwarā un Nahr, Maulānā Nādirī from Samarqand, and Maulānā Junūbī from Badakhshān, all journeyed from their homes to Āgra, and received *mansabs*.

A large majority of scholars, like Mīr 'Abdul Latīf Qazwīnī, Maulānā Abul Qāsim

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[1] Bā Yazīd, Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I.O., MSS., 223, foll. 72b—76a.

Astrābādi, Shaikh Abul Wājid Fārighī Shīrāzī, and Shauqī Tabrīzī, came actually from the Persian towns and the Safawī court itself which, *de facto*, did not rise to the height of the munificence of the Indian courts in their patronage of Persian prose and poetry.[1] The last-named, Shauqī Tabrīzī, who was

Part played by the Mughal as compared with the Safawī in the uplift of Persian prose and poetry.

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[1] Poets under the Safawī, were on an average, paid from 20 to 30 'tūmāns' for their 'qasāid' and eulogies of the court. There is one instance discovered of a panegyrist of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great—Shānī Taklū—who was once weighed in gold for his beautiful poetry, and on his retirement from the Shāh's service got a stipend of 20 'tūmāns' a month (a sum equal to sixty rupees). Against this solitary instance of Persian munificence, a good many brighter ones of Indian courts may be quoted. Cf.—

(i) Zuhūrī receiving several elephants loaded with gold and silver and other rich presents for his Sāqī Nāma in praise of Burhān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar. [Sar-Kush, Kalimāt ush Shu'arā—account of Zuhūrī.]

(ii) 'Urfi receiving from the Khān i Khānān 100,000 rupees in reward for a 'qasīda' [Ibid., Account of *Khān i Khānān.*]

(iii) Hayātī Kāshī was weighed in gold by Jahāngīr for his verses on the style of Khusrau's Tughlaq Nāma. So also, Sa'īdā i Gīlānī. [Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī. p. 240.]

(iv) Abū Tālib Kalīm, Sa'īdā i Gīlānī, and Bāfiyā, all weighed in gold by Shāh Jahān.

(v) Maulvī 'Ābdul Hakīm Siālkōtī weighed twice in gold.

(vi) Ābdul Hamīd Lāhorī, author of Shāh Jahān Nāma, was similarly weighed in gold, in addition to receiving a large sum in cash, on completion of his history.

an organ of the poetical assemblies arranged by Sām Mīrzā, at the Safawī court, had left the Prince's service only to enter Humāyūn's.[1] Similarly Shaikh Abul Wājid Fārighī who came from Shīrāz, was a pauper, and had not with him even a pair of spare clothes to put on except the one ragged old garment which he had on his body.[2] A good many poets and scholars came after Shāh Tahmāsp, in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great. The one notable example is that of Masīh Ruknā i Kāshī, who is reckoned among the best poets of Persia in his day, and was the chief poet of the court of Shāh 'Abbās. The Shāh not only failed to extend the patronage he deserved, but on one occasion even thought the favour he was showing him was too much for a poet, in consequence of which he left the court and came away to India[3] in the reign of Akbar. This is the age when the liberalities of the Deccan and the

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(vii) Qudsī, a most notable instance in the history of Mughal patronage, received in reward for a *qasīda* from a rich noble of Shāh Jahān's court, all his estate in landed and movable property, with heaps of gold and silver; and his mouth was filled seven times with precious jewels by Shāh Jahān himself

(viii) Nazīrī receiving from *Khān i Khānān* 100,000 rupees cash; and 30,000 gold mohars from Jahāngīr.

[1] Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 382. Cf. the statement: "He left the service of Sām Mīrzā. . . and went with the Emperor Humāyūn."

[2] Badāūnī, Vol. I, p. 476. Cf. the statement:

از قلعی مقرا غیر از کہنہ پوستینی با خود نداشت

[3] Lutf 'Alī Bēg Āzar, Ātashkada, p. 339.

Mughal kings in jealous rivalry with each other were attracting, more than they did ever before, the Persian poets and scholars from the remote corners of Persia, and the Western and Central Asia. Not only the Mughal kings but their *'Umarā* too, extended an equal patronage to these literate emigrants, who in their turn sang praises of their benefactors in their beautiful poems which resounded in Persia and served as an impetus to others who yet lagged behind. This is one of the main reasons why the literary activities at the Indian courts in the field of Persian literature outweigh those of the Persians in Persia. The elegant poetry written in this and the later periods, and the useful literature produced in the shape of histories, translations from Sanskrit and Hindī works, biographies of poets, and dictionaries of Persian language and idiom, stand a contrast and a marvel to Persia.

Causes of the dearth of notable poets in Persia under the Safawī as put forward by Persian historians

Various explanations are offered by Persian writers for the non-appearance of any great poets in Persia under the Safawī rule. As a matter of fact both the 16th and the 17th centuries were notably poor in the number and the quality of poets produced in Persia. The chief reason for this lull, as pointed out by Iskandar Munshī—the celebrated historian of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great, was the change in the mentality of the Shāh and of the people from the panegyric to the religious poetry or Muharram mournings which constitute strophes in praise of the

Martyrs: Imām Hasan, and Imām Husain.[1] The same view is endorsed by subsequent Persian and English chroniclers.[2] It is also declared that the panegyrists were not tolerated by the Persian kings, and consequently no poets of note appeared at their court; and even if they did, they were discouraged and no reward was held out to them for their eulogies. The Safawīs, we are told, maintained that the person of the Imāms and not that of the kings was worthy of the encomiums of the poets.

Weakness of their contention

While all this may be admitted as a distraction, it cannot at the same time be any real reason for the following considerations: First, that the panegyrists did exist under each of the Safawī kings, and received rewards for their encomiums on the person of the Shāh; and second, that the '*marsiyas*' (or the Muharram mournings) did not and could not in the least stop other kinds of poetry. The production of the former as compared with the latter is only a drop in the ocean. The poet Qāsimī, for instance, was a panegyrist of Shāh Ismā'īl, and was rewarded no less for his '*Qasā'id*' than for his other poems, of which, however, none was in praise of

[1] The latter is best known by his revered title of "*Sayyid ush Shuhadā*" whose martyrdom at Kerbala is a memorable event in the history of Islām and is the subject of universal mourning.

[2] Cf. Browne, Persian Literature in Modern Times, pp. 172-3.

the Imāms.[1] The highest reward which he got was for his poem entitled *'Shāh Nāma i Shāh Ismā'īl'* written in imitation of Firdausī's *Shāh Nāma* in extravagant praise of the Shāh. After Shāh Ismā'īl's death, he stayed for some time at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp, and possibly by the latter's desire wrote a similar poem entitled *'Shāh Nāma i Shāh Tahmāsp'* in his praise. In the latter part of his life he repaired to India, being attracted by the liberalities of the Mughal court, and was graciously received by Akbar.

Among the court poets of Shāh Tahmāsp, besides Qāsimī (who came over to India), there were many, of whom Shauqī Tabrīzī (who followed suit), Zamīrī, 'Abdī, and Muhtasham Kāshī, were conspicuous. Muhtasham poured unqualified praise on the Shāh, which not only was admitted but justly rewarded by the latter. The Persian biographer, Lutf 'Alī Bēg Azar, describes him as a panegyrist of the Shāh, and a prominent figure among the poets of the Safawī court:

[2]سر آمد شعراے فصاحت شعار آں روزگار و مداح شاہ طہماسپ صفوی است -

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[1] Cf. his poems:

(i) Shāh Nāma i Shāh Ismā'īl.

(ii) Kār Nāma, a poem on the game of Chaugān, written at the request of the Shāh himself.

(iii) Lailā wa Majnūn, dedicated to the Shāh.

(iv) Khusrau wa Shīrīn, dedicated to Sām Mīrzā.

[Tuhfa i Sāmī, U. L. C., Or. 648, fol. 28a.]

[2] Atashkada, p. 331.

He is the head of the eloquent poets of that period, and a panegyrist of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī.

Some specimens, showing the nature of praises showered by him from time to time on the person of the Shāh, are reproduced below:

[1]شه گیتي ستاں طهماسپ آں کز بیم رزم او
تن پیل دماں کاهد دل شیر ژیان لرزد
اگر فغفور چین آید بقصد آستاں بوسش
ز چین ابروے دربان آں بر آستاں لرزد

The king—conqueror of the world—Tahmāsp,
is such that from the fear of his battle,
The body of the fierce elephant diminishes,
and the heart of the ferocious lion
shivers ;
If the emperor of China comes with the
intent to bow at his threshold,
From the scowl of the porter of that
threshold, he trembles.

[2]تا بدن دستگاه جاں باشد
دست دست خدایگاں باشد

[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid

NOTE.—This is in poor imitation of Anwarī's famous '*qasīda*' in praise of Sultān Sanjar, beginning :

گر دل و دست بحر و کاں باشد * دل و دست خدایگاں باشد
شاه سنجر که کمترین خدمش * در جهاں پادشه نشاں باشد

شاه طهماسب آنکه در سپهش

همچو سنجر هزار خان باشد

آنکه از صدمت عدالت او

دزد چاؤش کاروان باشد

وانکه از هیبت سیاست او

گرگ باغی سگ شبان باشد

چون عنان فرس بجنبانی

رعشه در جسم انس وجان باشد

هم درنگ تو یک زمان درجنگ

مهلت صد هزار جان باشد

من چنان شمع معنی افروزم

انوری مستنیر آن باشد

Till body be the monopoly of the hand of the soul,
That hand be the hand of the king ;
Shāh Tahmāsp is such that in his army,
Like Sanjar there are thousand *Khāns*,
He is such that from the dread of his justice,
The thief is the herald of a *Kāravān* ;
And he is such that through the fear of his chastisement,
The lawless wolf is the dog of a shepherd ;
When thou givest motion to the rein of thy steed,
Paralysis overtakes the body of man and genii ;

Thy delay for a moment in battle,
Is a respite to a hundred thousand lives;
I am such a candle, enlightener of meaning,
That Anwarī seeks light therefrom.

Side by side with this he also wrote his famous '*Haft-band*' in praise of the Imāms. Zamīri is another who began his career as a poet in Shāh Tahmāsp's reign, and produced volumes of secular poetry in which respect no other poet in the whole of Persia could compete with him.[1] 'Abdī is yet another who carried the palm in his lavishness of praise on Shāh Tahmāsp. Besides the usual '*qasā'id*,' he wrote a long panegyric on the Shāh, entitled '*Būstān i Khiyal*'[2] (the garden of imagination), also called '*Haftkhizāna*.' A specimen from same will easily reveal the tendency of the Shāh's taste as also that of the poets at his court:

[3]در مدح سلطان السلاطین خاقان الخواقین شاہ طہماسپ الصفوی الموسوی الحسینی خلد اللہ ملکہ ابدا -

شہنشاہ جمجاہ دارا سریر
کہ ہم تاج بخش است و ہم ملک گیر

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[1] Atashkada, p 243 Cf. the statement.

ضمیری - اسمش کمال الدین حسین در زمان شاہ طہماسپ صفوی زبان بشاعری کشادہ و در زمان حیات داد شاعری دادہ و گویا در اصفہان بلکہ در ولایت دیگر بکثرت شعر او شاعری نیامدہ -

[2] Or. 3504, B.M MSS

[3] Ibid, fol. 8a

محمد نسب شاه حیدر شکوه
که لرزد چو دریا ازو پشت کوه
طرازندهٔ افسر سروری
فرازندهٔ رایت حیدری
سرافراز گردن کش تاج بخش
که انجم سپاهست و خورشید رخش
فلك بارگاه کواکب سپاه
شهنشاه دیندار طهماسپ شاه

In praise of the Sultān of Sultāns, Khāqān of Khāqāns, Shāh Tahmāsp as Safawī, al Mūsawī, al Husainī, may God perpetuate his kingdom :—

The emperor of Jamshīd's dignity of
Darius's throne,
Who bestows crown as well as takes
away kingdom;
Of the Prophet Muhammad's lineage (may
peace of God be upon him), of 'Alī's
grandeur,
That the back of mountain shivers like
sea for fear of him ;
The decorator of the crown of chief ship,
The uplifter of the banner of 'Alī;
Of exalted head, of proud neck, and bes-
tower of crown,
That the stars are his soldiery, and the
sun is his steed ;
Of the court of the sky, of the army of
stars,

The keeper of religion, the emperor
Shāh Tahmasp.

In the following the poet refers to a '*mansab*' which he got from the Shāh in appreciation of secular poems consisting of '*qasā'id,*' and '*masnawī,*' and '*ghazal,*' all of which proceeded from his pen as a sequel to the Shāh's patronage. In the third verse, in which he observes that his poetry was up till then in abeyance, he emphatically denies that it was due to any sense of shame for writing poetry :

[1] بدیوان اعلی چو بشتافتم
مناسب ترین منصبی یافتم
ازاں منصب آوردہ بانے بدست
بنام عزیزاں بدادم شکست
ولے در نہاں بود شعرم شعار
نبودی ازاں نسبتم ننگ و عار
قصاید ز کلکم برآورد سر
چو از نخلۂ خشك خرماے تر
نوشتم بکلك بدایع نگار
غزلہاے زیبندۂ آبدار
تتبع نمودم از اطوار نظم
چہ طوراست خوشتر ببازار نظم

When I hurried to the sublime court,
I got a most suitable '*mansab*' ;

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[1] Ibid., fol. 10b.

From that '*mansab*' I brought to my hand
a bread,
I caused no discomfiture (discredit) to the
name of my dear ones ;
Albeit my profession of a poet lay in hiding,
It was not due to any sense of shame or
disgust arising from my connection
with that ;
'*Qasā'id*' made their head from my pen,
Like fresh dates from a dry palm-tree ;
I wrote from my quaint-writing pen,
Well-tempered glittering *ghazals* ;
From the styles of poetry I followed,
What style was more fascinating in the
market of poetry.

Still more reassuring are the lines addressed to Shāh Tahmāsp, in which the author emphatically declares, as his own reason for the praise of the Shāh, that the panegyric poetry in Persia was still, as it had ever been before, the order of the day :

[1]هر آنکو ز مدح شهی داشت نور
جهانگیر شد همچو درخنده هور
هر آنکه نبودش بمدحے مدار
نبودش چناں هم بدهر اعتبار
وگر از سخن پروران کهن
مهیں باب مدح اندر آمد سخن

[1] Ibid, fol 9b.

همه کرده از نامور نامه ها
بمدح شهان گرم هنگامه ها
مرا هم خوش آید که دیوان من
که آمد گرامي تر از جان من
ز نام شهے چون تو گیرد جمال
کلامم ز مدحت پذیرد کمال
اگر سعدي از نام بوبکر سعد
خط شاهد نظم را کرد جعد
کلمی عبدی از نام طهماسپ شاه
سخن را زند بر فلك بارگاه

Every one who had lustre from the praise
of a king,
Became the possessor of world like the
blessed sun ;
Any one whose poetry was not based on
praise,
His worth was not much recognised in the
world ;
Again, from the poets of yore,
The best chapter which proceeded was that
of praise ;
All commenced their records from the name
of the renowned,
From the praise of kings they warmed their
assemblies ;
To me also it becomes agreeable, that my
poetic collection,

Which is held more precious than my life ;
May take embellishment from the name of a king like thee,
My poetry from thy praise attain perfection ;
If Sa'dī from the name of Bū Bakr Sa'd,
Plaited the hair of poetry, the bride ;
Now 'Abdī from the name of Shāh Tahmāsp,
Pitches the royal tent of speech above the sky.

These outpourings are followed by a fulsome and long drawn out panegyric which would defy any poet. Some by way of specimen are quoted below :—

اگر عنصری زد ز محمود دم
بر آورد در ملک معنی علم
مرابین که محمود شد عاقبت
که کردم چو تو خسروے را صفت
نظامی و خاقانی از اخستان
اگر باز گفتند صد داستان
که بود اخستان شاه شروان زمین
ترا صد چو شروان بود در نگین
اگر گفت خسرو همه سال و ماه
مدیح علادین و فیروز شاه
کدامی یکے بود از ایشان چنان
که یا رد شدن با تو همداستان
اگر زانکه سلمان دلی داشت شاد
بمدح اویس جلایر نژاد

اویس ار چه شاهی جهاندار بود
شتربانیت را سزاوار بود
اگر جامی از مدح سلطان حسین
سخن را بدر و گهر داد زین
ترا کمترین بندهٔ زینسان که هست
بود جای سلطان حسینش نشست
چو ممدوح من از همه برتراست
مرا در سخن رتبهٔ دیگر است
من آنروز گشتم چو خسرو سمر
که از جوهر فرد دادم خبر

Similarly Shāh 'Abbās, the Great, had his panegyrists, one of whom, Shānī Taklū, his favourite poet, was weighed in gold for the following beautiful verse, and received his weight for his reward.

[1] اگر دشمن کشد ساغر و گر دوست
بطاق ابرو مستانهٔ اوست

Whether an enemy drinks a cup of wine, or does a friend,
Both do so at the arc of his tipsy eye-brow.

At this, other poets showed jealousy, and wrote versified complaints to the Shāh, indirectly challenging the merits of their lucky comrade. The one written by Mullā Lutfī, another panegyrist of the Shāh's court, is well-worth quoting :

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[1] Ālam 'Ārā i Abbāsī, MSS. dated 1156 A.H., fol 182a.

[1] شاها ز کرم جهاں منور کردي
ملك دل عالمے مسخر کردي
شاعر که بخاك رہ برابر شده بود
برداشتي ، برابر زر کردي

O king, thou hast illumined the world with
thy generosity,
Thou hast captured the kingdom of the heart
of a whole world ;
The poet who had become equal to the dust
of the path (*i e.*, whose merits were
as low as dust),
Thou hast picked him up, and made him
equal with gold.

Still more prominent was Hakīm Ruknuddīn, popularly known as Hakīm Ruknā i Kāshī, who composed under the pen-name '*Masīh*' which suggests with his profession as a physician.[2] He was a competent poet and wrote over one lac (100,000) of verses according to the estimate of Persian biographers. On one occasion he noticed clear inattention

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[1] Ibid., fol. 134b.

[2] Cf , Shifā'i, another court-physician and poet of Shāh' Abbās, the Great His real name was Sharāfuddīn, and *Shifāi* was his pen-name which, like '*Masīh*' is appropriately suggestive with his profession. This taste for fine phraseology and choosing homogeneous words was (as is already shown on p 64, supra), also prevalent at the Persian court, and was *de facto* brought to India from Persia itself, where, through slackness of poetical market, it did not develop so fully as it did in India under the liberal patronage of the Mughals.

and disregard on the part of Shāh 'Abbās (*vide* supra, p. 151), and consequently left his court for that of the Mughal, with the following verse addressed to the Shāh :

[1] گر فلك يك صبحدم بامن گران باشد سرش
شام بيرون ميروم چون آفتاب از كشورش

If the sky on a single morn makes its head heavy against me,
That very evening I walk out like the sun from its dominion.

He arrived at the Mughal court with his famous contemporary—Hakīm Sadrā of Shīrāz—(who subsequently had his title of '*Masihuz Zamān*' conferred upon him by Jahāngīr), in the last days of Akbar, and was received by 'Abdurrahīm, *Khān i Khānān*, who took them to the court. Jahāngīr mentions them among his state physicians.[2]

About the same time another poet Shakībī Isfahānī left his native town for Āgra to enter the service of the *Khān i Khānān*.[3] Two of his verses from

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[1] Ātashkada, p. 339. [This shows the extent of the influence that the Mughal patronage in India exercised on the Persian court, and specially on the minds of its poets. It not only infused in them a spirit of independence but made them actually slight the patronage shown by the Safawī]

[2] Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī, p. 19.

[3] It is to be noted that the rewards by *Khān i Khānān* exceeded a lac of rupees. In addition to this, the latter secured for him a permanent *jāgir* from Jahāngīr's government.

Sāqī Nāma which he wrote in grateful acknowledgment of his master's liberal patronage are worthy of notice :

[1]بیا ساقی آن آب حیوان بده
ز سر چشمۂ خان‌خانان بده
سکندر طلب کرد لیکن نیافت
که در هند بود او بہ ظلمت شتافت

Come, o cup-bearer, give me that water of nectar,
Give me from the stream of the *Khān i Khānān* ;
Alexander sought for it but did not get,
For it was in India and he went in the region of darkness.

In the face of such strong evidences there remains little doubt that the real cause of this lull in the activities of poets in Persia is not in what is so easily explained by a certain class of writers. It surely lies in some other quarter. A Persian poet of the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp wittily points out the reason of this lack, as resulting from the Shāh's attention being paid to calligraphy, painting, and riding, in the following verse :

Real causes of the lull.

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[1] Bayāz-i-Mīrzā Asad Bēg Turkmān, MSS, dated, Āgra, 8th Safar, 1146 A. H., fol. 76a. [My attention was first drawn to this work by Prof. A. Qavī, Fānī, M. A., of Lucknow University, who also very kindly permitted the use of his copy which I believe is rare.]

[1] بے تکلف خوش ترقی کردہ اند
کاتب و نقاش و قزوینی و خر

Without trouble they have made a good progress,
The scribe, the painter, the Qazwīnī, and the ass.

Another sober and somewhat stronger evidence of the lack of patronage to poets in Persia is to be found in the verse of Lisānī Shīrāzī, who was a contemporary of Shāh 'Ismā'īl and Shāh Tahmāsp On one occasion when he happened to go to Tabrīz, he composed a '*qasida*' in praise of Amīr Najm, II, wherein he complained as follows :

[2] مے من صافی و ارباب مروت بےذوق
زر من بیغش و صراف سخن نابینا

My wine is pure, but the possessors of sympathy are devoid of taste,
My gold is unalloyed, but the banker of speech (judge) is blind.

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[1] Prof Browne (quoting from Ahsanut Tawārīkh), Persian Literature in Modern Times, A D 1500—1924, p. 97
Cf. his remark :
According to the Ahsanut Tawārīkh, Shāh Tahmāsp was in his youth much interested in calligraphy and painting ; he also liked riding on Egyptian asses, which consequently became fashionable, and were adorned with golden trappings and gold-embroidered saddle-cloths

[2] Bayāz-i-Mīrzā Asad Bēg, fol. 57b, ut supra

The above view finds further support in the utterance of another poet Kausarī of the court of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great. While extolling in the usual manner the virtues of the Shāh[1] in the masnawī entitled 'فرهاد و شیرین' (*Farhād wa Shīrīn*), the poet describes the dull atmosphere obtained in Persia, as compared with India, in the following plain and unmistakable language :

[2]شکایت کم توجهی اهل ایران بارباب معاني

دریں کشور خریدار سخن نیست
کسے سر گرم بازار سخن نیست

سخن را قدر و مقدارے نمانده
معاني را خریدارے نمانده

نباشد از اکابر تا ارازل
کسے را دل بسوے شعر مایل

ز بس باشد سخن بے قدر و مقدار
بود امروز شعر و شاعري عار

---

[1] Cf.:

شمه از صفات شاه گیتي ستان شاه عباس خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه

چو سر افراشت از لطف الهي * لوائی دولت عباس شاهي
جهاں را خواب امن آمد بدیدهٔ * بعهد عافیت شد آرمیدهٔ
چناں دست ستم شد کوته ازخلق * که باشد ظلم زالي آستیں دلق
بدورانش که باد از چشم بد دور * ز مادر ظلم مي زاید ولی کور

[B.M. MSS., Or. 342, fol. 12a.]

[2] Ibid., foll. 11a and 12a.

[I am grateful to my friend, Dr. A. M. Nizāmiddīn (Nizām scholar), for having copied these lines for me on my request from the B. M. codex.]

ببین کز بےخریداری دریں دور
چگونه شد بر ارباب سخن جور

که در ایران کسے ناید پدیدار
که باشد جنس معني را خریدار

در ایران تلخ گشته کام جانم
بباید شد سوے هندوستانم

همه طوطي مذاقان شکر خا
بملك هند ازان کردند ماوا

بر آنم کوثري ابیات خود را
شده نازل ز عرش آیات خود را

چو قطره جانب عمان فرستم
متاع خود بهندستان فرستم

که نبود در سخن دانان دوران
خریدار سخن جز خان‌خانان

سخن را نیست جز او نکته سنجے
جهانرا همچو او آماده گنجے

بعالم هیچ کس ز اهل هنر نیست
که از دست سخایش بهره‌ور نیست

Complaint[1] for the inattention of the people of Īrān towards the possessors of meaning (*i.e.*, poets) :

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[1] His complaint is of special value as proceeding from one who was a favourite of Shāh 'Abbās, and a writer of elegies on the Imāms. Cf.:

In this dominion there is no purchaser of speech,
No one is eagerly busy in the market of speech;
To speech value and weight remained not,
Nor for meaning any customer remained;
From the greatest to the humblest, there is not,
Any one whose heart is inclined to verse;
So much valueless and insignificant has become speech,
That today poetry and the profession of a poet are a disgrace;
See that owing to want of market in this age,
What tyranny was practised on the possessors of speech;
That in Persia no one appears,
Who is a customer of the commodity of meaning;
In Persia the palate of my soul has become bitter,
Now go I ought towards Hindūstān;
All the sugar-eating parrots,

"Mīr 'Āqil poetically surnamed '*Kausarī*,' was known for his devotion to the Imāms, which won him the favour of Shāh 'Abbās, I.'" [Rieu, Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the B.M., Vol. II, p 673.]

This emphatically disowns the theory sponsored by later Persian biographers and relied upon by Prof. Browne that the Shāh extended patronage exclusively to those who wrote in praise of the Imāms.

Have for this reason made their abode in
India ;
Kausarī, I am now determined that my verses,
Which are signs descended from the ninth
heaven ;
Like a drop towards the ocean I should send,
I should send my commodity to India ;
That there is not among the learned of
the age,
A customer of speech except the *Khān i
Khānān* ;
For discourse there is not a weigher of
subtle points except he,
For the world there is none like him a
ready treasure ;
In the universe there is none from among
the possessors of art,
Who is not profited by the hand of his
generosity.

Dullness of poetic market in Persia lasted for three centuries.

This dullness of poetic market in Persia lasted for nearly three centuries, and was a contrast with India which, through its better appreciation and patronage, attracted all the topmost poets with only a few exceptions like Muhtasham Kāshī and Hakīm Shifā'ī. It was in fact with the appearance of Qajar dynasty, of which Fath 'Alī Shāh was the most conspicuous figure, that the market of poetry in Persia again became brisk. He extended his patronage to poets and himself wrote poetry under the pen-name '*Khāqān.*' This was the age when the Persian nobles and princes likewise extended their

patronage to poets.[1] The result of this appreciation was that the fire of poetic genius of the nation, which had for so long burnt low in poets under sullen despondency, sparkled out once more and lit up the horizon of that country. Simultaneously with it, emigration to India considerably diminished.[2] The most notable poet that Persia in this new era produced was *Qā'ānī*, who is justly regarded both in India and Persia as the last great poet of Persian language.[3]

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[1] Cf.—

(i) Prince Hasan 'Alī Mirzā "*Shujā 'us Saltanat*," Governor of Khurāsān—patronised Qā'āni, Farūghī, and others

(ii) Hājī Mirzā Āqāsī, "*Nāib us Saltanat*" Prime Minister of Muhammad Shah—also a patron of poets

(iii) Mirzā Taqī Khān, better known as "*Amir i Kabir*" eulogised by Qā'ānī in numerous "*qasā'id*" for his munificent liberalities to poets

[2] Cf other causes :

(i) Gradual replacement of Persian by Urdū, and its official recognition as the court language under the English.

(ii) Patronage shown by the Mughal princes and other nobles to Urdū poets

[3] The one prominent figure in modern Persian poetry, which begins roughly from the latter half of the 16th century A.D., is the epoch-making Qā'ānī the Shelley of Persia, as we may call him. No other poet is to be found in the whole range of Persian verse so rich in the vividness of imagery, the exquisite mastery over style, and above all, in the glow and verve of idiom and naturalness of simile and metaphor, as he. Qā'ānī's descriptions are some of the most consummate that exist in the Persian

The chief causes, which appear more likely to be at the root, were : (*i*) the attention of the Safawī to political, social, and above all, religious reform (which, being of a drastic and fanatical nature, led to a general persecution of the literati in Persia), on the one hand ; and (*ii*) the patronage shown by the Mughal in India, on the other. The Mughal

Main causes which were at the root.

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language Every line of his displays that fulness of detail and eye for close observation which characterise his writings. His descriptive poems stand out not only in his own composition but in the Persian verse as a whole. His poetry is confined chiefly to *Qasīda, Khamsa, Qit'a* and *Mutā'iba*, on topics of love, natural scenery, and praises and satires of kings and dignitaries. A few lines from his *Khamsa* may be quoted here by way of specimen, which specially appeal to every student of *Nature*, a parallel of which is hard to find in the East among poets of Persian language, but is frequently met with in the West in English poets like Tennyson, Shelley, and Wordsworth ·

دیدهٔ نرگس بباغ باز چو سیماب شد
طرهٔ سنبل براغ باز پر از تاب شد
آب فسردهٔ چو سیم باز چو سیماب شد
باد بهاری بجست زهرهٔ دی آب شد
نیم شب آن بےخبر کرد ز بستان فرار
باز بر آمد بکوه رایت ابر بهار
سیل فرو ریخت سنگ از زبر کوهسار
باز بجوش آمدند مرغ بچهان از دنار
فاخته و بوالملیح صلصل و کبک و هزار
طوطی و طاؤس و بط سیره و سرخاب و سار

Court offered a home not only to poets but to scholars of all shades of opinion, including professional men like physicians, calligraphists, and painters. A large number of them, who in Persia refused to accept the Shīa faith forced upon them, had to go

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The eye of narcissus in the garden shone again as bright as quicksilver,
The forelock of hyacinth in the jungle became again full of curl ;
The frozen water like silver once more melted into quicksilver,
The spring breeze leapt, and the gall-bladder of autumn turned into water,
In the dead of night it took its flight stealthily from the garden
Again, the banner of Spring cloud appeared on the summit of the mountain,
The flood hurled down the stones from the top of the hills ;
Again, the young birds rushed in glee from every nook,
The dove, the grouse, the quail, the partridge, and the nightingale,
The parrot, the peacock, the duck, the diver, the goose, and the crane

The life-like picture depicted in conformity with Nature, the fiery poetical glow of language, and the introduction of original and quaint ideas even in such a common and world-wide subject as the appearance of the garden, during the dominion and sway of the vernal epoch, are qualities which had almost disappeared from the Persian composition in the 18th century. Along with the exquisite beauty of diction in the above descriptive sketch, Qā'ānī's presentation is absolutely free from unnatural exaggerations so common with poets in his day. His graphic sketch of *Nature* and her workings is such as might be

into exile. Some went to Turkey, and the Central Asian Provinces, but many came to India, to which they ever afterwards kept on emigrating,

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given by any English poet without hesitation. For example compare one stanza from the *Adonais* of Shelley :

The airs and streams renew their joyous tone ;
The ants, the bees, the swallows reappear ;
Fresh leaves and flowers deck the dead season's bier ;
The amorous birds now pair in every brake,
And build their mossy homes in field and brere ;
And the green lizard and the golden snake,
Like unimprisoned flames, out of their trance awake.

Qā'ānī's poetry with its wonderful ease and flow does not appear to belong to the era in which he lived, but exhibits a taste which prevailed in the early and the middle ages. His fidelity to nature combined with the charm of Rūdakī and Zahīr, the pathos of Nizāmī, and the vivacity and animation of Farrukhī and Manuchahrī, preponderates in his composition, and in this respect he appears to be a poet more of the 12th and 13th centuries than of the 19th when he actually lived. Even in his figurative indulgence, which is a characteristic of the 17th and 18th century poets, his supremacy over his colleagues is marked in so far as he has kept aloof from the vices rampant in their composition. His artistic display of the language, and his metaphor and simile have a charm and a reality which do not exist in the work of modern poets, and were long displaced by frivolous attempts at word and meaning, and the inordinate figurative touches which had disfigured the fair face of Persian poetry in the later age. In Qā'āni, therefore, we have a revival of the middle and early poetry, and he may be justly said to represent Farrukhī, Manuchahrī, and Zahīr in the 19th century.

being attracted by its superior literary support. It is by this process and the force of

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Qā'ānī's elegies are also famous for their originality of form, and style of address. They are a deviation from the old established path in a more conspicuous form than is exhibited in his panegyric poetry. Some specimen lines from his elegy on Imām Husain are quoted below :

بارد چه خون که دیدهٔ چسان روز و شب چرا
از غم کدام غم غم سلطان کربلا
نامش چه بود حسین ز نژاد که از علی
مامش که بود فاطمه جدش که مصطفی
چون شد شهید شد بکجا دشت ماریه
کے عاشر محرم پنهان نه برملا
شب کشته شد نه روز چه هنگام وقت ظهر
شد از گلو بریدهٔ سرش نی نی از قفا
سیراب کشته شد نه کس آبش نداد داد
که شمر از چه چشمه ز سرچشمهٔ فنا
مظلوم شد شهید بلی جرم داشت نه
کارش چه بد هدایه و یارش که بد خدا

What rains ? The blood ; who rains ? The eye ; how ? Day and night ; why ?
Out of grief ; what grief ? The grief for the Sultān of Kerbala.
What was his name ? Husain ; from whose parentage was he? From that of 'Alī,
Who was his mother ? Fatima; who was his grandfather ? The Prophet Muhammad.
What happened to him ? He suffered martyrdom ; where ? In the desert of Marya,
When ? On the 10th of Muharrum ; secretly ? Nay, publicly.

such circumstances, further strengthened by the ties of political and social inter-relations uniting the

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Was he killed at night ? Nay, in the day ; what hour ?
At the hour of noon,
Was his head cut off from the front ? Nay, from behind.
Was he killed with his thirst quenched ? No ; did none
give him water ? Yes, they did,
Who did ? Shimr ; from what stream ? From the stream
of death.
Did he fall a martyr to oppression ? Aye ; had he (com-
mitted) any fault ? None,
What was his mission ? Guidance ; and who was his friend ?
GOD.

"Qā'ānī," says Browne, "is by general consent the most notable poet produced by Persia in the 19th century. He is one of the most melodious of all the Persian poets, and his command of the language is wonderful, but he lacks high aims and noble principles"

The latter remark of the learned critic is mainly due to the allegation that Qā'ānī was of short temper, and his pen did not desist from disparaging those whom he had once praised in his *qaṣā'id*. In support of this contention Browne quotes one instance of Hājī Mīrzā Āqāsī, who, during his supreme Governorship of Khurāsān, was extolled for his piety and justice by Qā'āni. But when the Mīrzā fell from power, having incurred the displeasure of the emperor Muhammad Shāh, and his Ministerial rank and authority passed on to another noble "*Lisān ul Mulk*" Mīrzā Taqī Khān, better known as "*Amīr i Kabīr*," Qā'āni, for reasons not yet fully disclosed, discredited the former and praised the latter thus :

خوشست کامشب اے صنم خوریم مے بیاد جم
که گشته دولت عجم قوی چو کوهسارها
ز سعي صدر نامور مهین امیر دادگر
کرو کشودة باب و در ز حصن و ز حصارها

two countries that the court of the Mughal eventually *became completely Persianised,* and *in fact every-*

بجای ظالم شقی نشسته عادلی تقی
که مومنان متقی کنند افتخارها

It is pleasing tonight, O dear, that we drink wine in memory of Jamshīd,
Because the empire of Persia has become firm like a chain of mountains;
Through the efforts of our reputed Minister, the greatest Amīr and the giver of justice,
(From whom) the doors and gates of castles and fortresses are kept wide open;
In place of a cursed tyrant, sat a just and God-fearing person,
That the pious believers take pride in him.

Qā'ānī purged the Persian poetry from that irksome hyperbole and laboured and pedantic style which the later poets, during the last two centuries before him had commonly adopted as their motto His verses are full of pathos and spontaneous and natural tendencies as opposed to a terse and affected style formed by clever devices, subtleties of figures of speech, and rhymed diction. His distinctive feature of writing, and the reforms he introduced in the art of versification, are summed up as follows :

(i) *Abstention from fatuous and abortive exaggeration in* his flight of thought as could be seen in the following lines reproduced here by way of sample :

در زورقی که دم زنی از حزم و احتیاط
او کو بادبان کند این کو لنگرا
غیر از رضای شاه که جوید بجان و دل
آید بچشم هر دو جهانش محقرا
بادش عدو نوان و بد اندیش ناتوان
دولت جوان و حکم روان پایداره را

thing, language, custom, fashion, food and dress, was adopted after the Persian style and taste.

نصرت قرین و چرخ معین قلم همنشین
حاسد ضمین و بخت سمین خصم لاغرا

ولہ

ای دست تو بخشندہ تر از ابر بمجلس
وی تیغ تو رخشندہ تر از برق بہیجا
گر صاعقہ قہر تو بر کوہ بتابد
پیکاں دمد اندر عوض خار ز خارا
یک شعلہ نار است مرا روح بہ پیکر
یک بیشہ خار است مرا موی بر اعضا

ولہ

ازاں شراب کہ گر بیندش کسے شب تار
کند نظارہ بظلمات آب حیوان را

(ii) Remarkable felicity of expression and naturalness of his simile and metaphor, as contained in the following lines:

ز خاک رستہ لالہا چو گنبدیں پیالہا
ببرگ لالہ ژالہا چو در شفق ستارہا
ز ریزش سحابہا بر آبہا حبابہا
چو جوی نقرہ آبہا رواں در آبشارہا
در زلف تابدار او بچشم اشکبار من
چو چشمہ کہ اند روشنا کنند مارہا
درختہای بارور چو اشتران باربر
ہمی ز پشت یکدگر کشیدہ صف قطارہا
فراز سرو بوستاں نشستہ اند قمریاں
چو مقریاں نغز خوان برسردیں منارہا
بنفشہ رستہ از زمیں بطرف جویبارہا
و یا گسستہ حوریں ز زلف خویش تارہا
ز سنگ اگر ندیدہ چساں جہد شرارہا
ببرگہاے لالہ بیں میاں لالہ زارہا
کہ چوں شرارہ می جہد ز سنگ کوہسارہا

It is a fact, historically true, that the Persian language had not gained so complete a hold on the

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(iii) His pun and figures of speech are more spontaneous, graceful, and dignified in character, than those of his contemporaries who are content merely with the ornate diction and display of words at the sacrifice of good taste. A few instances are quoted below.

کف کریمش ار بس فتادہ در یتیم
یتیم ساختہ پروردگار عماں را
ار آهوی سیمیں بستاں آهوی زریں
تا خانہ چو مینو کني از شاهد و مینا
آهوي بگیر ایں همہ کاهو بتو گیرند
آهو چہ کني اے همہ شیراں بتو شیدا
بہ نوع انساں آنساں بود مباهاتش
کہ بر بہ سایر انواع نوع انساں را
سپہر کوکبہ صدرا تونی کہ کوکب تو
شکستہ کوکب هفت آسماں گرداں را

(iv) Continuity and fulness in his description, with faithful representation of the subject, which is wonderfully attractive and appealing to heart:

اي رفتہ پئے صید غزالن سوے صحرا
باز آ بسوي شہر پئے صید دل ما
گر تیر زني بر دل ما زن نہ بر آهو
در دام نهي در رہ ما نہ نہ بصحرا
نہ شہر کم از دشت و نہ ما کمتر از آهو
صید دل ما کن اگرت صید تمنا
آهوے بیابان نہ برد مهد بیاباں
مائیم کہ صیدیم و بقیدیم و شکیبا
اے آهوے انسي چہ کنی آهو ء وحشی
وین طرفہ کہ صیدی چہ کني صید تقاضا
مادر تو گریزیم و گریزد ز تو آهو
او صید تو غافل شدہ ما صید تو عمدا

Mughal court, nor on the people of Hindūstān, before

آهوے بگیراین همه کا هر بتر گیرند
آهو چه کنی ای همه شیران بتو شیدا
چشمت چربه آهو ست بجز آهو چشمی
مه روي و سخنگوی و سمن بوي و سمن سا

وله

ماه رمضان آمد اے ترک سمن بر
برخیز و مرا سبحه و سجاده بیاور
و اسباب طرب را ببر از مجلس[2] بیرون
زان پیش که ناگاه تقیاي رسد از در
وان مصحف فرسوده که بارینه ز مجلس
بردی بشب عید و نیاوردي دیگر
باز آر و بده تاکه بخوانم دو سه سوره
غفران پدر خواهم و آمرزش مادر
مے خوردن این ماه روانیست که این ماه
فرمان خدا دارد و یرلیغ پیمبر
در روز حرام است به اجماع و لیکن
رندانه توان خورد به شب یکدوسه ساغر
بیش از دو سه ساغر نتوان خورد که تا صبح
بویش رود از کام و خمارش رود از سر
یا خورد بدان گونه بباید که ز مستي
تا شام دگر بر نتوان خاست ز بستر
تا خلق نگویند که می خورده فلاني
آرے چه خبر کس را از راز مستر
من منهیم این است ولي وجه میم نیست
وین کار نیاید بجز از مرد توانگر
ناچار من و مصحف و سجاده و تسبیح
وان ورد شبانروزي و آن ذکر مقرر

(v) His productive, rich, and luxuriant style, with his wonderful command of the language, is more than what could be achieved by any Persian poet during the last two centuries

before him. This is evident from the sweetness inherent in his poetry, and his uses of verbs with their auxiliaries in distinctive and varied meanings, which have acquired the bearing and stamp of idiom. For instance, he uses the verb افتد in so many flexible ways and with such clever turns that one cannot but admire his *ijtihad*. The following lines deserve special notice:

اے خوشا رتبی که از غایت مستیش سخن
همچو سرما زده در کام بتکرار افتد
بے خطا گفتم و شاه از همه حال آگاه است
می نخواهد که همیں پرده ز اسرار افتد
هم خداوند و هم شاه از همه حال آگاه است
ایں چنیں رندی و قلعی بسیار افتد
چوں بر ابناے جہاں بار خدا ستار است
لاجرم سایۂ او باید ستار افتد

(vi) He was a genius, and proficient in three languages, Turkish, French, and Arabic and made a free use of their vocabulary in his poetical composition, more than any other poet of Persia ever did before

(vii) He uses many redundant words (زوائد) with the air of a *Mujtahid.* Not only stray instances of same are to be met with in his poetry here and there, as is the case with other poets, but that he picks up a word and makes it a regular ردیف, e.g , cf , his long *qasīda* beginning with:

آمد به بزم دوش یکے ساده پسر بر
و ز مشک فرو هشته دو گیسو بقمر بر

He also invented and introduced *stammering* poems, depicting in words the halting articulations, stops and rapid repetitions of a habitual stammerer. It was a bold step for him to take in the 19th century, which no other poet ventured before him

Safawi persecution, as it did afterwards.

(viii) The sweetness and melody inherent in his *qasīda* is most remarkable, and presents a new phase in the art of *qasīda-writing*, which originally belonged to *ghazal*.

(ix) He widened the scope of Persian poetry by allowing زحافات and admitting obsolete words and new sets of compounds and constructions in his composition, a step which befitted him as an امام or a recognised leader of poets.

(x) He is a great force in the field of 19th century Persian literature His style characterised by freshness of expression, rejuvenation of thought, and naturalness of simile, is unique in the life and literature of Qajar Persia Nay, the service rendered by him to Persian poetry as a whole, is most remarkable, and stands by itself.

(xi) He revived the poetry of the early and the middle age, and combined in his *qasīda* the merits of Rūdakī Farrukhī, Manuchahrī, Anwarī, and Zāhir, adding to them a charm all his own. He thus raised the standard and dignity of Persian poetry, which had fallen so low in Persia since after the coming away of Abu Tālib Kalīm to India, and is regarded as the *last great poet of Persian language*, a position justified by his prolific and many-sided genius

(xii) In prose, his work "کتاب پریشان" written after the manner and style of Sa'di's *Gulistan*, is a reflection and a blot on his good name, and does him no credit as a prose-writer. It is full of scurrilous anecdotes, and reveals his easy life and freedom of thought which he loved so well

CHAPTER IX

He was by nature tender-hearted and was inclined more and more, as he advanced in years, towards Sūfīsm and renunciation. His growing desire for the company of the devout, and his aversion to this material world, had manifested themselves too clearly on several occasions. His frequent visits to the tombs of saints, and his association with the Sūfīs of the time, and taking auguries from the *Dīwan* of Hāfiz on important matters of state, domestic, and personal, was for the most part under the influence of the Indian atmosphere during his stay in Hindūstān, which was already a most noted country in the East for spiritual progress and the religious activities of its people. The Persian mysticism, since its very advent in India, had found a warm reception by the religious-minded populace, and this joint working of Muslim thought with the Hindū zeal for devotional practices, aiming at the purification of the soul, had created a spiritual atmosphere, the effects of which no foreigner, however stiff-hearted and indifferent he might be, could escape. Jauhar, Gulbadan Begum, and other contemporary and later historians, have quoted instances of his pessimistic views. The one recorded by Abul Fazl is reproduced as follows :

Wave of pessimism in the latter part of his life due to the influence of religious atmosphere obtained in India

[1] و اکثر اوقات بر زبان اقدس حضرت جهانبانی جنت آشیانی ذکر سفر ملک مقدس میگذشت و در عادت پسندیدهٔ خویش این معنی را که منافی خلاف عالم انتظام است مکروه داشته - مذکور مجلس عالی نمی شد دربن ولا بذکر آن خوشوقت می گشتند - همانا که در پیشگاه باطن غیب دان نقش آن پرتو انداخته بوده ازانجمله روزے تصدیق و تحسین کلام حقیقت انجام گیتی ستانی فردوس مکانی میفرمودند که حضرت فردوس مکانی در محفل خود مذکور میفرمودند که ملان ملازم من میگفت که هرگاه خوادسنان گورستان غزدمن بنظر در می آید مرا میل مردن می شود و در تلو آن میفرمودند که ما چون دهلی و مزارت آنرا مشاهده می کنیم سخن او بیاد می آید که چه خوش میگفت و در همان نزدیکی که متوجه ملک بقا می شوند به بعضے از مستعدان خطاب می فرمودند که امروز بعد از فراغ عبادت سحری حالتے دست داده بود و ملهم غیبی این رباعی بر زبان داد

رباعی

یارب بکمال لطف خاصم گردان

واقف بحقایق خواصم گردان

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[1] Akbar Nāma, Vol I, p 435 (Mahārāja Patiāla edition, Lucknow, 1284 A.H.)

از عقل حفا کار دل افگار شدم

دیوانۀ خود خواں وخلاصم گرداں

And often times passed *on the holy tongue* of the late king (whose abode is in Paradise), the talk of *travel to the next world* ; and against his *old* pleasing habit, this talk which is opposed to the orderly government of this world, and which he did not like to be mentioned in his sublime assembly before, he was pleased with its mention in these days. Verily, since on the heart of the secret-knowing king, the effects of such thoughts had already cast their shadows, therefrom the king did one day praise and vouchsafe for the truthful utterance of the late conqueror, *Firdaus-Makānī* (Bābur), saying, that *Firdaus-Makānī* once in his assembly mentioned that a certain servant of his said one day, " Whenever the sleeping Yard of the Cemetery of Ghaznī comes into my sight, I am inclined to die." And after this, the king added, " When I see Delhī and its tombs I recollect the speech of the late king—how nice and true he said !" And near about the time when he was to turn his face towards the eternal kingdom, he addressed to some of his attendants, " Today, after the morning prayers, something happened, and the angel of inspiration put this quatrain on my tongue :—

O God, with Thy plentiful grace select me
for Thy nearness,
Make me acquainted with the secrets of
Thy chosen people ;

Through my oppressive wisdom my heart
was rent,
Call me Thy mad lover, and free me from
all cares."

The extent to which he had allowed himself to be led by Sūfistic ideas is determined by his deeds of wilful surrender to Sūfistic dicta, and in endeavouring to tread in the path of attaining spiritual solace and viewing this world and its affairs with the detachment of a recluse. Like an ascetic he occasionally gave up meat-eating, and lived entirely on vegetables, in the hope of attaining that purity of soul and its secret link with the spirits of the saints, which, according to a class of thinkers, is the exclusive prerogative of the devout abstainers alone. Abul Fazl writes thus of Humāyūn's avowed abstinence from all animal food until his second conquest of Hindūstān, merely with the object of appeasing the saints and invoking their blessings for the success of his arms :

His Sūfistic tendencies resembling those of an ardent recluse.

[1] و حضرت جهانبانی که از ابتدای این سفر مبارک به دهلی و فتح هندوستان ترک تناول حیوانی فرموده بتوجهات روحانی استفتاح می‌نمودند امروز کمال انبساط بجای آورده -

And his Majesty, the Warden of the world, who, from the beginning of this auspicious

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[1] Ibid., p. 422.

journey until his reaching Delhī and the conquest of Hindūstān, having abstained from all animal food, sought victory through spiritual attentions, evinced the greatest pleasure today.

Along with his abstinence from the animal food, he also used to take auguries from the *Dīwān* of Hāfiz,[1]

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[1] The practice of consulting omens from the *dīwān* of Hāfiz was prevalent in Persia also. The belief of the Persians in *tafāwul* was so great that they gave the names of *Lisān'-ul-Ghaib* (Invisible tongue), and *Tarjumān-ul-Asrār* (Interpreter of mysteries), to Hāfiz's *dīwān*. Like the Mughal emperors in India, the Persian royal house also, in spite of their disbelief in the Sunnī *tarīqat* and in Sūfīs, used to take auguries from the *dīwān* on important private and official matters. The *Latīfa i Ghaibiyya* (a book written by a Persian noble and poet of the town of Dīrāb, printed at Tihrān in 1804 A H.) mentions several instances of such auguries drawn from *Hāfiz* by the Persian kings Cf.—

(i) Shāh Isma'īl I, the promulgator of the Shi'a faith in Persia, who even went to the length of destroying the tombs of Sūfīs, decided to consult Hāfiz's *dīwān* about the destruction of the latter's tomb. The result of this augury was the following verse :

جواز سحر نهاده حمایل، برابرم
یعنی غلام شاهم و سوگند می‌خورم

(ii) Shāh Tahmāsp one day lost his ring, and consulted *Hāfiz* which opened at the following verse ;

دلی که غیب نمایست وجام جم داره
ز خاتمی که دمی گم شوده چه غم داره

believing in their efficacy, just as the ancient Romans used to consult Vergil, when they were in doubt as to the proper course of action to be pursued by them. While yet in Cābul, after his return from Persia, he consulted the *dīwān* about his success in his impending attack on Hindūstān, to regain his lost kingdom from Shēr Shāh A detailed account of this augury and his personal faith in its efficacy, is given in the following extract :

His taking auguries from *dīwān-i-Hāfiz* and his belief in their bearing fruit : a practice prevalent among the people of Hindūstān, and ardently followed by his successors in India.

[1]عنان عزیمت والا بصوب صواب ممالك هندوستان معطوف فرمودند و آن نور پرورد ایزدی دعلی حضرت

(iii) Similarly, Shāh Abbās II, like Humāyūn, once took an augury from Hāfiz's *dīwān* regarding the conquest of Azarbāijān, of which the capital is Tabrīz. The following verse was the remarkable response :

عراق و فارس گرفتی بشعر خود حافظ
بیا که نوبت بغداد و وقت تبریز است

1. Ibid, p 409.

NOTE —The difference in the Persian and the Indian method of taking auguries may be noted :—In India, the popular method is to open the *dīwān*, after reciting *fātiha* with or without *durūd*, and invoking its blessings on the departed soul of Hāfiz. The first verse of the open page on the right is generally taken as Hāfiz's response to the query. If the answer is not clear, the 7th line of the same page is the next best verse to be counted upon. But if neither gives satisfaction, six further pages are turned, and the first verse of the 7th page is accepted as final.

شاهنشاهي راكه كه عمر هنصري آنحضرت دران هنگام
سعادت پيراي دوازده سال و هشت ماه بود و عقل
كامل آن بزرگ كونين از احاطهٔ احصا افزون مقدمهٔ
جيش فتوحات صوري و معنوي ساخته باد پاي اقبال
را بجولان در آوردند و در روز توجهٔ عالي بديوان لسان
الغيب تبرك و تفاول جستند چون امرے عظيم از پردهٔ
غيب و جلباب خفا جلوه ظهور مي‌نمايد مناديان
بشارت از انفس و آفاق بهزار زبان بلند آوازهٔ
مي كردند ازانجمله اين شاه بيت قدسي عبارت برسر
صفحهٔ اولي كه سر نوشت پيشاني دولت تواند شد
عنواني منشور فتح نمود -

شعر حافظ

دولت از مرغ همايون طلب و سايهٔ او
زانكه با زاغ و زغن شهپر همت نبود

اگرچه خرد مندان عالم معاملهٔ داني اين كلام
حقيقت ترجمان را بر دولت و نصرت حضرت جهانباني
بشارتي شايسته خيال نموده بهجت آراي محفل سعادت

In Persia the method of opening the *dīwān* at random is more common, and the condition of reciting *fātiha* is not considered necessary, though *durūd* is generally read simultaneously with opening the book. Some take the first line on which the eye falls, be it on the right or on the left page; while others consider the first verse of the ode, which begins on the right page, as the proper answer.

شدند اما دوربینان بارگاه دانش فحوای این نظم
بدیع را نوید خلافت کبری و مژدهٔ سلطنت عظمی
حضرت شهنشاهی دریافته در دو انتظار طیران علو
این طایر قدسی اقامت فرمودند و حضرت جهانبانی
اعتصام به عروةالوثقای عنایت الهی و استمساک به
حبل‌المتین بشارت آسمانی نموده با اندکی از مردم
که بسه هزار کشند بمعاضدت بسیاری از جنود غیبی
که بشمار محاسبان عقول نگنجد نهضت فرمودند -

In the above-quoted extract one could see the wonderful effect exercised by the miraculous verse of Hāfiz. Not only it filled the heart of Humāyūn and his generals with hope, but that the confidence it infused was so great that he marched without even adequate preparation with a number less than 3000 foot and cavalry all told,[1] on such a big mission as the re-conquest of Hindūstān.

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[1] This original figure was substantially increased later, and many more joined him on his way to Hindūstān The warring factions in India, jealous of one another's power, were a great incentive to Humāyūn, who entered the country unopposed, and marched as far as Lahore without facing any great opposition. Other natural factors were the death of Salīm, the powerful Pathān King, and the invitation sent to Humāyūn by the discontented *Umara* of Delhi and Āgra to come to Hindūstān and occupy his father's throne Almost all the tribes of the Pathāns were engaged in the civil war. It was therefore the most opportune moment for Humāyūn to return.

One day, when he was out for hunting in Cābul, he expressed to his nobles the anxiety of his mind to regain his lost throne, and consulted them as to the advisability of leading an attack on India with the meagre men and material he could collect. Those who had lived in India in the heyday of his fortune, and enjoyed the comfort and wealth of the country, offered to consult the old method of divination, *viz.*, to send a courier ahead, who should go and return after taking down the names of the first three persons he meets. The king readily consented to this and sent three horsemen, instead of one, all in the direction of Hindūstān but separate from one another, who were to return immediately after meeting the first person each, and report to him their names individually. The first brought the news that he met a trader named دولت *fortune.* The other said that he met a traveller by name, مراد *object of the heart.* The third reported that he came across a peasant whose name was سعادت *auspiciousness.* The conclusion drawn was that the king should immediately start upon his campaign, unmindful of the number of his army, as success was sure to attend on him. He therefore put himself to this task at once and invited recruits who readily responded to his call under the said belief. Thus in the month of Safar in 962 A.H., he marched from Cābul, and was joined by many veteran soldiers on his way to Hindūstān.

His reading omens in the phenomena of *Nature*, and his belief in their symbolic truth.

His keen sense of giving justice to the poor against the high-handedness of the officials had led

to the invention of *tabl-i-'adl* (or drum of justice), which he had ordered to be placed in the outside corridor of the royal palace. Any one from the highest to the humblest in life could approach him without fear of molestation, and use that drum to draw the attention of the king in person, towards the tyranny shown to him by any official, enemy, robber, or noble of the court. This mode of giving justice was appreciated and copied by his successors in India, the most notable among whom was his grandson, Jahāngīr. He had a gold chain measuring 30 *zira'*[1] in length, with 60 bells, one end of which was tied to the parapet of the royal dome of his fort at Āgra, and the other to a mile-stone fixed on the bank of the Jamuna.[2] Humāyūn's *drum of Justice* is

Invention of *tabl-i-'adl*, a mode of giving justice which was later adopted by his grandson, Jahāngīr, in the form of *zanjīr-i-'adl*.

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[1] A Persian yard.

[2] Cf Jahāngīr's own statement :

بعد از جلوس اولین حکمی که از من صادر گشت بستن زنجیر
عدل بود که اگر متصدیان مهمات دارالعدالت در داد خواهی و فریاد
رسی ستم رسیدگان و مظلومان اهمال و مداهنت ورزند آن مظلومان
خود را بدین زنجیر رسانیده سلسله جنبان گردند تا صدای آن باعث
آگاهی گردد - وضع آن برین نهج است - از طلای ناب فرمودم
زنجیری سازند طول آن سی ذراع مشتمل بر شصت زنگ - وزن آن
چهارمن.... ....یک سرش برکنگرهٔ شاه برج قلعه آگره استوار
ساخته سر دیگر تاکنارهٔ دریا برده بر میل سنگین که نصب شده بود
محکم ساختند -

[Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī]

described with its details of procedure by Abul Fazl as follows :—

[1] و از مخترعات آنحضرت طبل عدل بود که اگر دادخواهی را با کسے مخاصمت می شد یك نوبت چوب بر طبل میزد و اگر تظلم او از عدم وصول علوفه بود دو نوبت آن کار میکرد و اگر ما و جهات اورا ظالمے غصب کرده بود یا دزد برده سه نوبت طبل را بفغان آوردے و اگر با کسے دعوی خون داشتے چهار نوبت صدائے طبل را بلند گردانیدے

> And from amongst the inventions of his Majesty was the *drum of Justice* to the effect that if any seeker of redress had enmity with any one, he would strike the *drum* with the stick once ; and if he was oppressed for not supplying fodder, he would do this act twice ; and if his articles of subsistence were seized by some tyrant, or carried off by some thief, he would make the *drum* sound thrice ; and if against some one he had a claim for shedding blood (murder of his kinsmen), he would cause the *drum* to sound loud four times.

His general character.

His generosity and benevolence were great ; and his clemency for his brothers, who proved a constant source of trouble and a menace to the peaceful government of his empire, was extraordinary, and carried beyond

[1] Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, pp. 434-35. (Mahārāja Patiala edition, Lucknow, 1284 A.H.)

the limits of prudence and justice which he owed to the State. He was a lover of learning and a patron of poets and prose-writers of his day. He inherited from his father the poetic genius which is displayed in his *masnawī*, *rubā'ī*, and other metrical compositions. He was unostentatiously religious and his faith in providence was remarkable. In his days of fortune as well as in distress he did not lose the balance of mind, and remained happy in his submission to the will of God. In exile, when he was persuaded to embrace the Shi'a faith, in return for the promised Persian help to reinstate him on his lost throne of Hindūstān, he had uttered the following :

[1]ما بدین خود قایم مقام هستیم' آمدیم' و ما را
چندان آرزوے پادشاهي هم نیست و هرچه هست باراده
خداے عزوجل است' دل خود را به او بسته ایم -

> We are firm in our religion. We came ; and we do not even entertain much desire for kingship. And whatever there is, it is with the will of God, the Great and the High. We have bound our heart to Him.

In battle he was valiant, and in peace his forgiving nature never yielded to any strict measures which the times demanded, not so much through weakness of mind as through gentleness and nobility of spirit.

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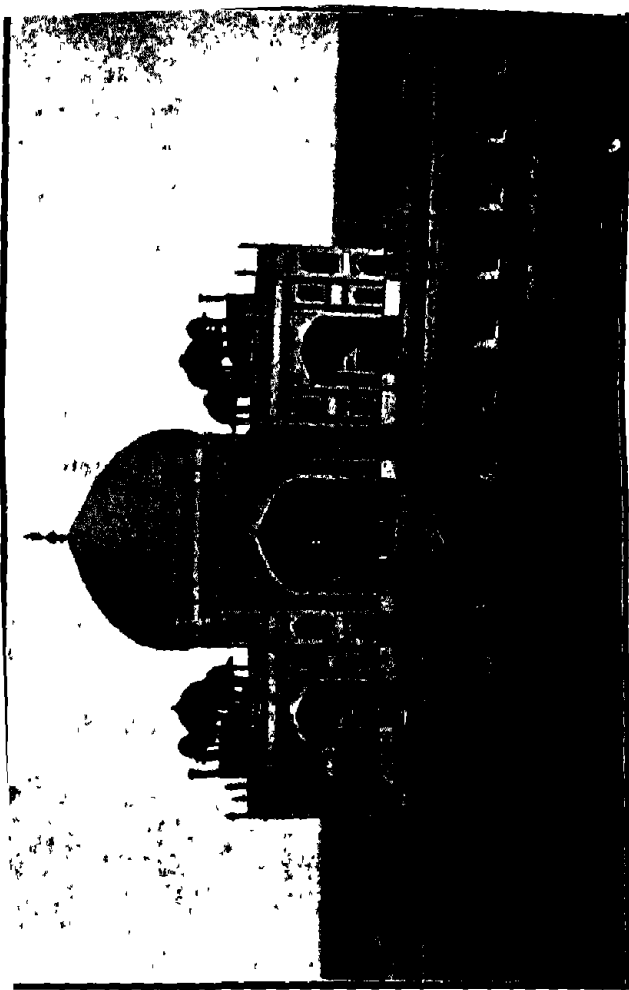
[1] Jauhar, B M. MSS., Add. 16, 711, fol. 71b.

His chivalry.

During his flight through the sandy [illegible] Sindh, when his men were almost dying [illegible] and every one ran mad for water, news arrived of Shēr Shāh's troops' near approach. Humāyūn, at this juncture, ordered all his men, who were in a fit condition, to halt and engage the enemy in battle; while the rest whose condition was sore were directed to move forward to a safe distance with women and children 115 in number. He kept the command of the fighting force directly in his own hands, and rode in front like a warrior giving heart to his tired, unwilling, and ill-equipped men. The enemy, however, did not appear on the scene, and Humāyūn rode back to the female section to communicate the good news of the enemy's non-appearance.

Even in his fall he was great, and showed the same elevation of character as he did when he wore a crown.

Tomb of Humāyun, Old Delhī.

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